

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BASTILLE,
&c. &c. &c.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BASTILLE

By J. H. P. J. J. J.

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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
B A S T I L E:

WITH A
CONCISE ACCOUNT of the LATE
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A N A P P E N D I X,
Containing, among other Particulars,
An ENQUIRY into the HISTORY of the
PRISONER WITH THE MASK.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.
M DCC XC.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
BASTILLE:
WITH A
CONCISE ACCOUNT OF THE LATE
REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.



TO WHICH
A NEW APPENDIX
CONTAINING
AN ENQUIRY INTO THE HISTORY OF THE
PRISONERS WITH THE MARK

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR T. CADOGAN, IN THE STRAND.
1800.

Street de la Roquette

*Great Street
of the Suburbs
Saint Anthony*

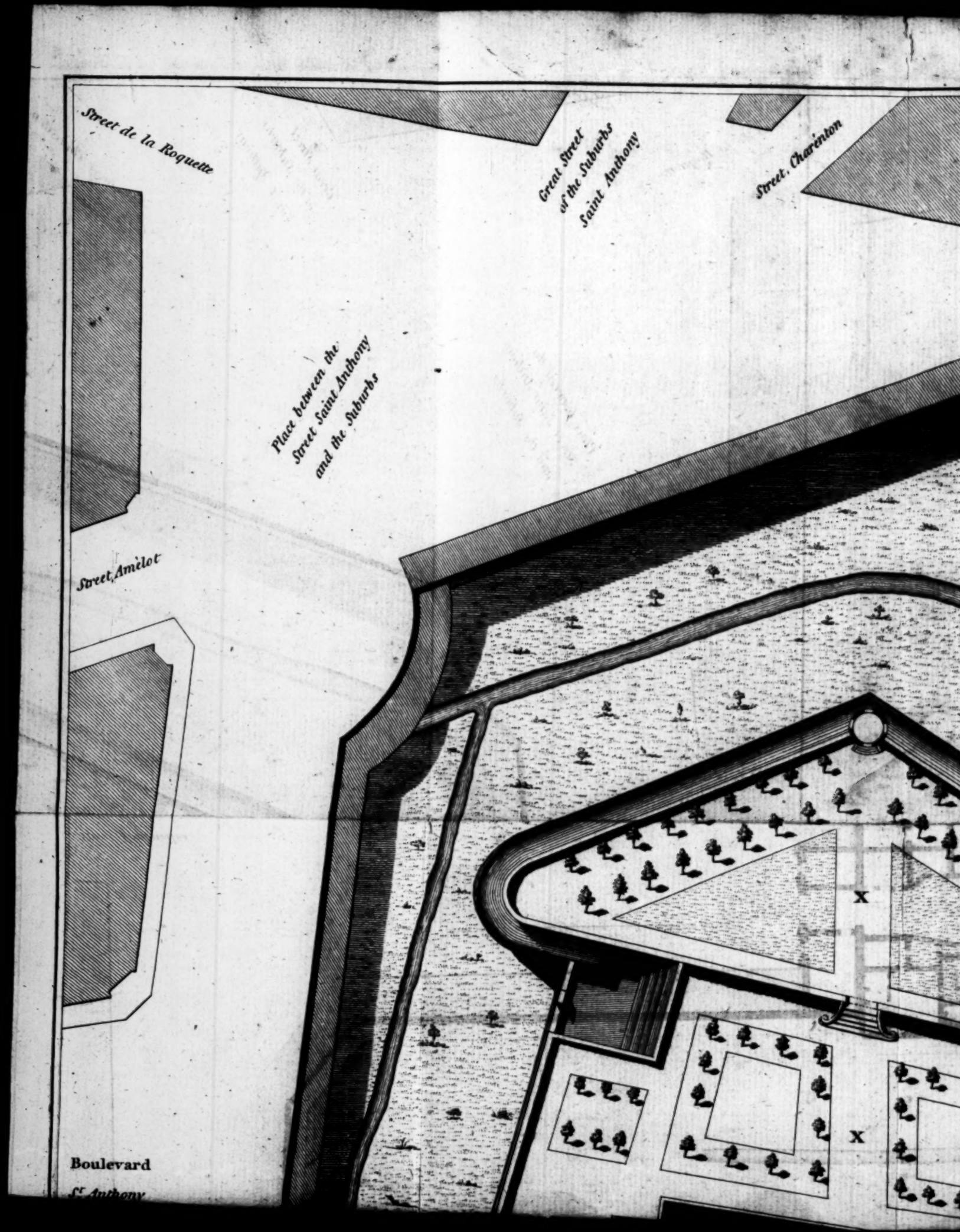
Street Charenton

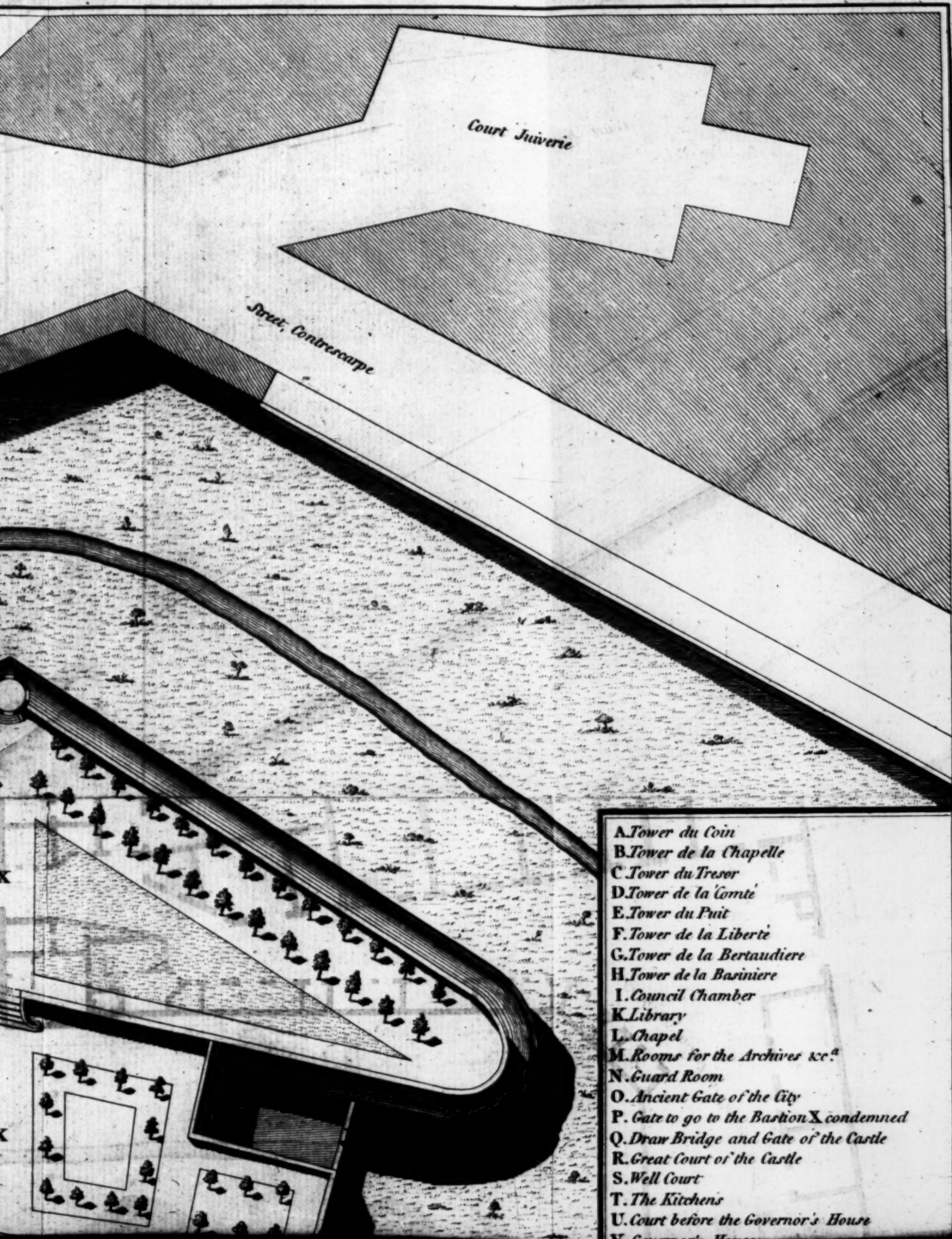
*Place between the
Street Saint Anthony
and the Suburbs*

Street Amélot

Boulevard

St Anthony





Boulevard

S^t Anthony

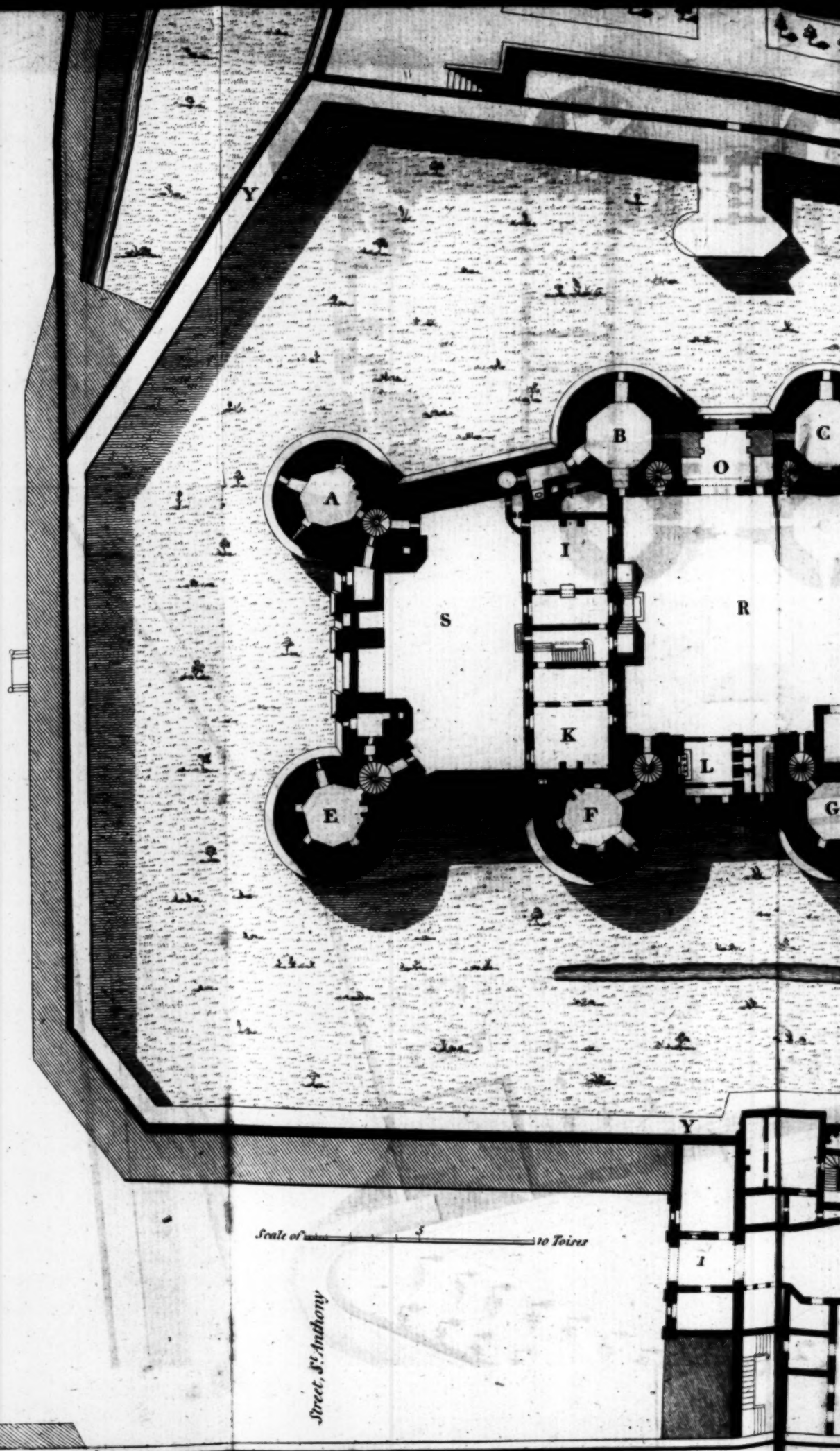
*Street,
Beausire*

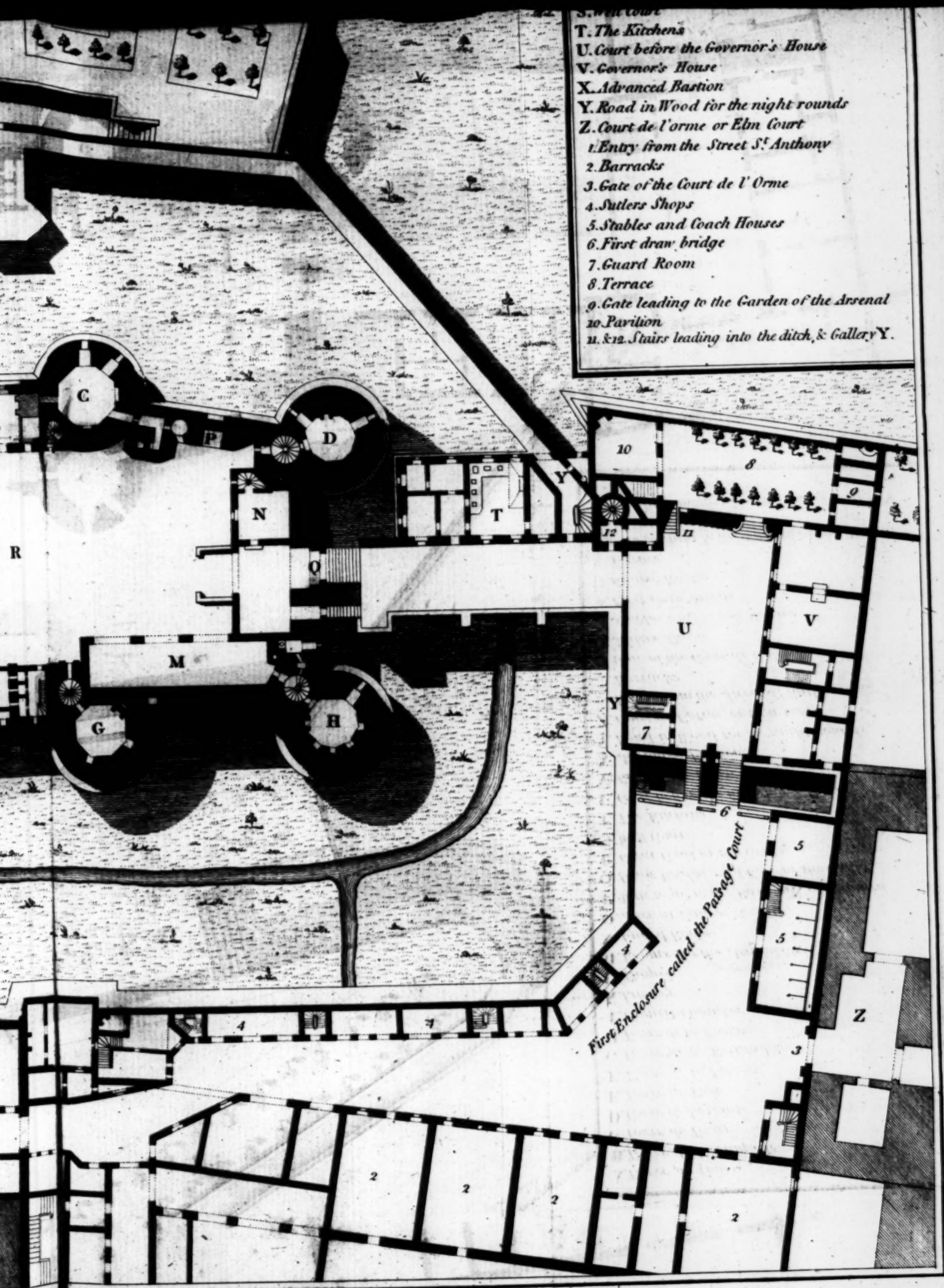
Street, Saint Anthony

Street, Tournelles

Scale of  10 Toises

Street, S^t Anthony





- S. Well Court*
T. The Kitchens
U. Court before the Governor's House
V. Governor's House
X. Advanced Bastion
Y. Road in Wood for the night rounds
Z. Court de l'orme or Elm Court
1. Entry from the Street S^t Anthony
2. Barracks
3. Gate of the Court de l' Orme
4. Sutlers Shops
5. Stables and Coach Houses
6. First draw bridge
7. Guard Room
8. Terrace
9. Gate leading to the Garden of the Arsenal
10. Pavilion
11. & 12. Stairs leading into the ditch, & Gallery Y.

HISTORY
OF THE
BASTILE.

THE Castle of the Bastile was begun in the reign of Charles V by Hugh d'Aubriot, mayor of Paris, who laid the first stone on the 22d of April 1370.

D'Aubriot was born at Dijon in Burgundy of obscure parents: but his merit raised him into such favour with the king, that he was entrusted with the care of his Capital. The *Pont au change*, then called the great bridge; the embankment along the Seine near the gate Saint Anthony, and the first

B

subter-

subterraneous drains to carry off the filth of the town, were constructed by his directions. But his mind seems to have been too elevated for the times he lived in. Protection afforded by him to the Jewish inhabitants, measures that were taken to restrain the ambitious pretensions of the university, and some expressions that escaped him with respect to the clergy, drew on him the resentment of the church. He was accused of heresy; condemned to pass the rest of his days in prison; and his enemies, adding mockery to injustice, caused him to be shut up in one of the towers of the Bastile; which seems, thus early, to have been consecrated to the purposes of superstition and revenge.

At the beginning of the reign of Charles VI d'Aubriot was set at liberty by the insurgents, called the *Maillotins*. They wished to place him at their head, but he withdrew privately in the night and fled to Burgundy, where, at a distance from those

those who persecuted him, and no longer an object of their jealousy, he ended his life in peace.

The Bastile, as planned by d'Aubriot, consisted only of two round towers, one on each side of the road leading into Paris, from the suburbs Saint Anthony. They were joined together with a high and strong wall, in the center of which was the gate * of the town. Some years afterwards two other † towers were built opposite to the two first, and there is room to think, that the road continued in the same line, as a gate was found walled up between those towers, corresponding with the other gate. Under Charles VI the other towers were added, and joined together, in the form shewn in the plan, by walls immensely thick, and measuring on the inside eighty feet in height above the level of the court.

* See the plan B and C.

† Ibid. F and G. N. B. all the figures and letters refer to the plate.

The road was then turned off to the right of the castle; the ancient gates were shut up; a new gate was made between the towers D and H; and the whole building was enclosed with a broad ditch, having a counterscarp in masonry nearly thirty-six feet high from the bottom. About the middle of the seventeenth century, was completed the advanced work X, a piece of modern fortification, which was afterwards converted into a garden. The ditch was dry, excepting during the floods of the Seine, when the water rose in it, but not to any great height. All the other buildings seen in the plan, were erected occasionally at different periods.

The usual entry to the Bastile, was from the street St. Anthony (1). Over the first gate was an armory. To the right of the entrance was a guard room. In the first inclosure were barracks (2) for the garrison; coach-houses and stables for the governor and officers; and shops for furlers

lers (4). A gate led from thence to the arsenal (3). The way into the second enclosure was by a draw-bridge (6). On the left in entering was a guard-room, and on the right the governor's house (V). At the end of this court there was a terrace, with rows of trees (8), and a pavillion (10). The end of the terrace farthest from the castle, was closed by an iron railing that separated it from the garden of the arsenal. On the right in going to the castle, were the kitchens and their offices, erected on a kind of blind bridge thrown across the ditch. The passage into the castle was by a draw-bridge; within the gate, on the right, was a guard-room. The first court (R) was 102 feet long, and 72 broad, with six towers. Those on the right of the entrance were called, *Tour de la Conté* (D); *du Tresor* *

* This tower is said to have been so called from Henry IV, having deposited there the treasure that was amassed by the oeconomy of Sully, for what was called Henry's grand project.

(C); *de la Chapelle** (B); and those on the left, *de la Basiniere* (H); *de la Bertaudiere* (G); *de la Liberté* (F). The court was terminated by a modern building, on the ground floor of which was the council chamber, the library, and some lodging rooms. The upper stories contained quarters for the *Lieutenant du Roi*, the major, surgeon, and the other officers. Formerly the kitchens were in this building, but when the others (T) were erected, the places occupied by them were converted to other purposes. The rest of the edifice consisted in apartments for prisoners of distinction.

The second court (S) was seventy-two feet long, and forty-two broad: the length ran parallel with the breadth of the other. At the two extreme angles were towers;

* The first chapel of the castle was near this tower, under the arch that originally formed a gate of the town.

one named *Du Coin* * (A); the other, *Du Puit* (E), from a well that was contiguous to it. Between these towers were lodgings for persons belonging to the castle.

In the first court was the clock that marked the heavy hours to the solitary and unhappy prisoners. It was once decorated with two statues of men in chains, as if invented by cruelty to insult wretchedness; but these ill-imagined ornaments were removed by order of the Baron de Breteuil, when minister of Paris.

* In this tower the Marechals de Biron and de Bassompierre were confined. The iron hooks that had served for supporting the scaffold on which the Marechal de Biron was beheaded, were still seen in the walls.

The Marechal de Bassompierre was distinguished for his abilities as a statesman and a soldier. The Cardinal de Richelieu was jealous of him. He was arrested the 25th of February 1631, and sent to the Bastile, where he remained till after the death of the Cardinal, being discharged the 19th January 1643; the Cardinal died the 4th of December 1642. During his confinement the Marechal wrote his Memoirs.

The tops of the towers, and of the curtains that joined them, were flat with a parapet wall; and on the towers some pieces of cannon were mounted.

The entrances to the towers were secured by double doors of oak, near three inches thick. In each tower, was a winding staircase, which descended to a dungeon below, and led to the rooms above it. The roof of the dungeon was about the level of the court, and the floor of it considerably above that of the ditch. Those dungeons were arched, paved, and lined with stone. Most of them had a slit towards the ditch, that let in air, and a very small degree of light; but I saw one that had none. It is said they were intended as places of temporary punishment for prisoners who attempted to make their escape: and it seems by all the inquiries that could be made, that they were only used on some very particular occasions. It was in these dungeons that the unfortunate princes of Armagnac,

Armagnac, sons of James who was beheaded, were confined by Lewis XI. The eldest lost his senses in prison; the youngest obtained his liberty, after the death of the tyrant, by one of the first steps taken under the reign of his successor, Charles VIII. In a memorial written by that prince of Armagnac in 1483, he relates sufferings that now almost exceed belief, although they were at that time fully credited*. Above the dungeons were four stories, containing each a singleroom. Some roomsindeed had a small dark closet adjoining to them, made in the thickness of the wall. The three first stories wereirregularpolygons ofabouteighteen feet diameter, and as many high; the fourth, or the room at the top of the tower called *la calotte*, was not quite so large, nor so high, and was arched to support the stone roof or platform: some had a ceiling under the

* See Histoire de l'ancien Gouvernement, par le Comte de Boulainvilliers, Tom. iii.

arch. The walls were strongly built of stone and mortar. They were near seven English feet thick at the top, and the thickness gradually increased towards the foundation. The rooms had but one window each, with an iron grate immensely strong near the surface of the wall without, and another about the center of its thickness. A glass window made in the manner of a door opened inward. In some rooms the embrasure of the window came down to the level of the floor; in others there were steps that went up to it, and in many it was high enough to enable a person to walk forward to the window with ease. The windows of the lower story were built half way up with stone and mortar, or had planks fixed to that height on the outward grate to prevent the prisoner from being seen by any one from abroad. The walls were perfectly dry, and, owing to their extreme thickness, persons who had been long confined in the Bastille have informed me,

me, that they never found themselves so much incommoded by the cold in winter, or heat in summer, as they imagined they would have been, at the same seasons, in the * houses in the town of Paris.

All the rooms, except the dungeons, had a fire-place, or stove; and the vents of the chimneys were secured by strong iron grates placed at certain distances from each other. The walls and ceilings were plastered and white washed. Some floors were laid with tiles, and others with stone, in the manner of most of the anti-chambers in Paris.

The furniture of the rooms in general consisted of a small bed with green serge curtains, a table, an armed chair, a basin and ewer, a large earthen pot to hold water,

* In some of the late publications, the rooms are said to have been cold and damp in winter, and hot and suffocating in summer: but what I have said is not only from the appearance of the walls and dungeons which I examined, but from the testimony of persons who had inhabited the rooms.

a brass candlestick, a chamber-pot, a night-stool, a tin goblet, a broom, and a tinder-box and matches. For prisoners of high rank, there were apartments furnished with greater care. Some were permitted to send for things of their own. Madame de Staal * informs us that she was allowed to hang her room with tapestry; but for prisoners in general, the furniture and conveniences were such as I have described them.

The doors of the rooms were double, and with as many locks and bars as those that shut the entrances to the towers. Many of the rooms had double ceilings †, one of lath and plaster, and at some distance over that, another of oak, which supported the tile or stone-floor of the room above it.—The stairs were lighted from the courts by narrow windows with iron grates like those of the rooms.

* See Memoires de Madame de Staal.

† See Memoires de Henry Mafers de la Tude, par M. Thiery, Tom. i. p. 46.

It has already been observed that each tower had its particular name, and that each chamber was numbered, by which means there was no occasion ever to pronounce the name of a prisoner; as in the cant of the place, he was called by the number of the chamber and the name of the tower where he was confined; as N^o 1. *de la Ber-taudiere*, and so on.

Different authors who have written on the Bastille have mentioned cages of iron for confining prisoners, and instruments for putting them to the torture: they have said that rooms were destined to those purposes, and called the *rack-room*, the *cage-room*: but no such instruments were found, nor any traces of them discovered, either by the persons who examined the place when it was entire, or by the architects who superintended its demolition. The four porters or turnkeys that belonged to the Bastille when it was taken, as well as some

some of their predecessors, who are now living, have been examined; and they all declare that none were ever seen by them, and that they never heard of any prisoner being put to the torture there. Yet *La Porte* *, in relating the methods that were taken to make him divulge the secrets of the queen his mistress †, says the commissary took out of his pocket an order which he said was for putting him to the torture, and made him go down to a room where he shewed him the instruments. Perhaps this barbarous practice may have been privately employed in those times; or perhaps the engines were sent for and displayed to excite terror. This cannot however be now decided;—but there is no proof of any one having been secretly put to the torture there, since the beginning of the reign of Lewis XIV.

* See *Memoires de La Porte*, premier valet de chambre de Louis XIV.

† Anne of Austria, mother of Lewis XIV.

But

Such cages however, though not in the Bastile, were lately to be seen in other places. They are said to have been invented during the cruel reign of Lewis XI by Tristan l'Hermite, a friend and servant worthy of such a master. Boulainvilliers says that he saw at *Chateau Duplessis*, the *cachot de fer*, wherein the Cardinal de la Balue* had been confined. Lewis XII, while Duke of Orleans, being taken prisoner at the battle of St. Aubin, was sent to the castle of Bourges, and it is said was for some time shut up during the night in one of those cages. He referred to what he then suffered when he replied to a nobleman who was more resentful than his master, that "it did not become

* The Cardinal de la Balue, a bold and intriguing priest, had been minister to Lewis XI. The king withdrew his confidence from him; his fidelity was suspected; he was arrested in 1389, and kept eleven years in confinement. He retired to Rome, and under Charles VIII was sent *Legate à latere* to France, after which he returned to Italy and died there.

" the

“ the king of France to avenge the injuries that had been done to the Duke of Orleans.”

A publisher of a Leyden Gazette who had printed a satire on Lewis XIV was secretly seized in Holland, brought away from thence, and shut up in a cage at *Saint Michel**, where he died after many years confinement. *What a contrast!* Yet the pen of pensioned flattery gave this vain man the appellation of GREAT! On all the public buildings and statues that were erected during his reign, and many by his orders, we find *Ludovico Magno*; but the date alone is a satire that sufficiently destroys this assertion †.

The

* A convent and prison on a neck of land on the coast of lower Normandy.

† Lewis XIV often sung and repeated in the midst of his courtiers, songs and poems containing the most fulsome flattery to himself; and received with evident pleasure, tributes of adulation that would have extorted a blush from the pride of a Turkish Despot. It is recorded

The cage at Saint Michel still remains. It is about nine feet long, six broad, and

corded of Sultan Soliman the Magnificent, that hearing a poet repeat some verses in his praise that he thought exaggerated, he hastily interrupted him, saying, "Peace, and remember we are frail and mortal like thyself."

"In this year (*says Choisy*) was performed at Paris, in the face of God and man, a most extraordinary ceremony. The Maréchal de la Feuillade consecrated the statue of the king in the *Place des Victoires*. The king is on foot with *Fame* behind him, in the attitude of placing a crown of laurels on his head. La Feuillade marched thrice round the statue, at the head of the regiment of guards of which he was colonel, and prostrated himself in the manner of the ancient pagans before the statues of their emperors. In the evening fireworks were displayed before the Hotel de Ville, and all the streets were illuminated. It is said that La Feuillade proposed to buy a vault in the church of the *Petits Peres*, and to carry it forward to the middle of the square, that on his death he might be buried immediately under the statue. He likewise proposed to found a sum for lamps to be perpetually burnt before it, night and day."

Memoires de Choisy, page 241.

A few days after the statue was put up, the following verses appeared, supposed to be spoken by a Gascon :

C

Ah!

and eight high, not of iron, but of strong bars of wood.—It stands in the middle of a room resembling one of those of the Bastile, and as the prisoner could not possibly escape from thence, it was evidently intended for punishment rather than security. On some of the bars were figures and landscapes which are said to have been cut by this unhappy man with his nails. I believe that his death terminated this species of cruelty, as we know no instance of it since.

“ Ah! La Feuillade, *sandis*, tu nous bernes,

“ Mettre un Soleil entre quatre lanternes! &c.

and the lamps in the day-time were discontinued.—Lewis XIV. had taken as his device a sun encompassed with stars, with this motto—*Nec pluribus impar*.

On the return of the prince of Orange to the Hague from one of his campaigns, he was present at an opera into which the author had introduced many compliments to him. He said, in his cold phlegmatic manner, “ Does this man take me for the king of France? “ But for his compliments, the opera is a very good “ one; desire him to leave them out.”

Besides

Besides the rooms in the Bastile, that we have mentioned, there were others in the curtains, between the towers; in which the records of the place, and other books and papers of importance, were deposited.

The library of the Bastile is said to have been founded about the beginning of the present century by a prisoner who had been long confined there, and to have been augmented by some of his successors. It contained about five hundred volumes, of which the prisoners were generally allowed the use; but those who were not indulged with the liberty of going thither, depended on their keepers for the choice of their studies. Scarcely any of the books were entire, some prisoners having written in them what was thought improper to be seen by others. If they wrote on the margin, it was cut off, but as they sometimes wrote between the lines, many volumes were found with whole leaves torn out of them. Yet some have escaped

the vigilance of those whose duty it was to examine them, and are now to be found with notes in the hand-writing of the prisoners.

Towards the bottom of the first court (R) on the left, was the chapel (L). One mass was said there every morning, and three masses on the holidays and Sundays. There were six covered niches for as many prisoners, where they could hear without seeing, or being seen. Those who went to mass, were separately conducted to their places and taken back to their rooms. If there happened to be many prisoners, they performed their public devotions by rotation.

The establishment and garrison of the Bastile consisted of

A Governor,

The Lieutenant du Roi,

A Major,

Two Adjutants, or officers under the Major,

A Sur-

A Surgeon and his assistant,
A Chaplain,
Four Turnkeys, and
A company of Invalids; with its usual
number of officers; all of whom lodged
in the castle:

A Physician; two Priests, who were
paid four hundred livres a year each, to
assist the Chaplain in saying masses on
Sundays and holidays; a Keeper of the
records, and a Clerk; and a Superintendant
of the buildings, and Engineer; these lodged
abroad.

As the king allowed the governor a cer-
tain daily sum for the maintenance of each
prisoner, the persons belonging to the
kitchens were hired and paid by him.
The established allowances appear to have
been, for a prince of the blood 50 livres a
day; for a maréchal of France 36 livres;
a lieutenant general 24 livres; a person
of quality or member of the parliaments
15 livres; an ordinary judge, a priest or
person

person in the finances 10 livres; a decent bourgeois 5 livres; and for servants who were arrested or permitted to attend their masters 50 sols. There was likewise an allowance made to the governor for fire, candles, and washing.

The governor was immediately under the authority of the minister of the department of Paris. The lieutenant general of the police, as the delegate of the minister, corresponded with the governor, the lieutenant du Roi, and the major. He came occasionally to inspect the Bastile, and sometimes was present at the examination of prisoners. If a prisoner wanted any thing, he applied to him. If he had permission to write to his friends, the letters were sent to the Police-office, from whence a messenger came regularly twice a day, at noon and in the evening, to receive them; but out of the numbers that were written, few were delivered, and it has been suspected that this apparent indulgence to prisoners, was one of the many artifices

artifices that were employed to discover their secrets and the persons with whom they were connected.

The ordinary treatment of the prisoners was committed to the major, who nevertheless, as well as all the other officers, were constantly subject to the orders of the governor.

The following are translations of papers regarding the police and discipline of the Bastile, which were found in it after it was taken.

Regulations found hanging in the Guard-room of the Castle, printed in 1761.

“ The officer commanding the guard
“ will not permit any one who enters the
“ castle to wear his sword, excepting his
“ majesty, the Dauphin, the princes of
“ the blood, the secretaries of state, the
“ maréchals of France, the captains of
“ the body guards, the dukes and peers,
“ and the officers belonging to the place.

“ The commissary, Mr. de Rochebrune,
“ may go in as often as he chuses.

“ The serjeants and corporals should
“ make themselves acquainted with the
“ persons and names of every one belong-
“ ing to the place, and of all those who
“ daily come into and go out of the
“ castle.

“ They ought likewise to learn, im-
“ mediately, the names of the towers, to
“ be able to say with accuracy, in which
“ they may have remarked any thing while
“ on duty in the night.

“ The sentinel at the gate is to open and
“ shut the wicket, but he must not permit
“ any one to go out, or come in, with
“ whom he is unacquainted; should any
“ attempt so to do, he must arrest him.

“ The sentinel within the court must
“ observe the same. Where there is even
“ doubt, the person is to be arrested until
“ the arrival of the officer commanding the
“ guard, who will give his orders.

“ The sentinel in the court must strike
“ the bell every quarter of an hour, from
“ ten in the evening till six in the morn-
“ ing

ing. He must ring for mass, and as soon
as he has done so, he must retire into the
guard-room, and shut the window, until
such time as he may be ordered to return
to the door of the chapel, where he must
remain till the mass is ended. He must
then return to the guard-room as before,
until ordered to go back to his post in
the court*.

The sentinel in the court must con-
stantly keep in view the prisoners who
may be permitted to walk there: he must
be attentive to observe if they drop any
paper, letter, note, or any thing else: he
must prevent them from writing on the
walls, and render an exact account of every
thing he may have remarked whilst on
duty.

All persons whatsoever, except the
officers of the staff and turnkeys, are
forbidden ever to speak to any prisoner,

* This was done to prevent the soldiers from seeing the prisoners in going to or returning from mass.

“ or

“ or even to answer him, under any pretence
 “ whatever.

“ This guard will furnish sentinels to be
 “ placed at the bottom of the stairs, when
 “ the prisoners may be served with their
 “ meals, and at all other times when it may
 “ be necessary to go to them.

“ As soon as night sets in, the sentinels
 “ must challenge all who may present
 “ themselves, and let no one pass until they
 “ have observed him, and know him to be
 “ one who has leave to do so.

“ Before the bridge of the castle be
 “ drawn up, the officer of the guard must
 “ send to inform the governor. Those
 “ who may be with him, that sleep in the
 “ castle, must then retire within the place.
 “ As soon as the bridge is drawn up, the
 “ officer of the guard must carry the keys
 “ to the *lieutenant du roi* *, from whom

* The keys were lodged with the lieutenant du
 roy, who slept within the castle, as the governor
 slept at his house (V.)

“ he

“ he is to receive them, in case any order
“ arrives from the king, and at the stated
“ hour for opening the gates.”

*Translation of a Manuscript found in the
Bastile.*

“ Whenever an order comes from one
“ of the secretaries of state for receiving,
“ or setting at liberty, a prisoner, the go-
“ vernor will be pleased to return a mes-
“ sage to that minister, by acknowledging
“ the receipt of it. He will likewise take
“ care that the minister of Paris be instantly
“ informed of whatever orders may be
“ sent by any other minister, as the Bastile
“ is immediately within his department.

“ When the governor receives a letter
“ from the lieutenant general of the police,
“ for admitting a prisoner, or setting one
“ at liberty; that letter is called, *lettre*
“ *d'anticipation*, until such time as the king's
“ orders can be sent in form. Therefore,

“ as

“ as soon as he receives such a letter, he
 “ will be pleased to communicate the same
 “ to the minister of Paris.

“ Whenever the governor receives orders
 “ from the king, or letters from the lieutenant
 “ general of the police, regarding any
 “ thing to be done in the castle, he will
 “ not confide those orders to any one but
 “ the proper officers, whose business it is
 “ to execute them.

“ As it sometimes happens that men of
 “ rank surrender themselves at the Bastille,
 “ who are themselves the bearers of the *lettre*
 “ *de cachet*, and deliver it with their sword
 “ to the governor; whenever such a case
 “ happens, the governor will immediately
 “ give information to the minister by whom
 “ the *lettre de cachet* is countersigned, and
 “ desire his instructions respecting the
 “ manner in which the prisoner is to be
 “ treated *.

“ The

* The following is the copy of a letter in the possession of the author of the *Revolutions de Paris*:

“ Mon

“ The governor will take care to gain
 “ regular information of whatever passes
 “ in the castle; of the complaints of the
 “ prisoners, and of all other matters re-
 “ specting them.

“ In case any prisoner should fall sick,
 “ the surgeon of the castle must immedi-
 “ ately make a report to the governor, and
 “ the physician must be sent for, who will
 “ give such directions as he may judge pro-

“ Mon Cousin,

“ Etant peu satisfait] de votre conduite, je
 “ vous fais cette lettre, pour vous dire, que mon in-
 “ tention est qu’ aussitôt qu’elle vous aura été remise,
 “ vous ayez à vous rendre en mon chateau de la
 “ Bastille, pour y rester jusqu’ à nouvel ordre de moi.
 “ Sur ce je prie Dieu quil vous ait, mon cousin, en sa
 “ sainte garde. Ecrit à Versailles, le 25 Juin 1748.

Signé

“ LOUIS.”

Et plus bas,

“ Voyer d’ARGENSON.”

Au bas est écrit, “ Le Sieur Prince de Monaco;” et
 au dos, “ A mon cousin le prince de Monaco, brigadier
 “ en mon infanterie.”

There is likewise a letter from the king to the go-
 vernor of the Bastille, to receive the prince de Monaco.

“ per

“ per with respect to the treatment of the
“ prisoner.

“ If the disease should encrease, and be
“ thought dangerous, the governor will
“ then inform the minister and the lieute-
“ nant general of the police, and ask if the
“ prisoner may be permitted to see the
“ confessor belonging to the castle.

“ If the physician should judge him to
“ be in imminent danger, and the confes-
“ sor should think it fit to administer the
“ sacrament, advice thereof must likewise
“ be immediately sent to the minister, and
“ the lieutenant general of the police.

“ On the arrival of a prisoner, the of-
“ ficer must order the soldiers to retire into
“ the guard-room, taking care that he is
“ not seen by any one.

“ The gate is to be opened at five in the
“ morning in summer, and at six in the
“ winter.

“ If workmen should be employed in the
“ castle, as many sentinels must be put over
“ them

“ them as may be thought necessary, who
“ must observe them with the same atten-
“ tion they do the prisoners, in order that
“ they may not approach these, nor do
“ any thing that may be contrary to the
“ rules of the place.

“ When a corporal or any other is or-
“ dered to attend a prisoner, who may have
“ permission to walk in the garden, or on
“ the towers, it is expressly forbidden, that
“ he speak to him. He is to observe his
“ actions, to take care that he make no
“ signs to any one without, and to bring
“ him back at the hour fixed, delivering
“ him over to an officer, or one of the turn-
“ keys, as may have been ordered.

“ Whenever there is an order from the
“ king, to set any prisoners at liberty, the
“ sentinels and officer of the guard, must
“ not allow them to go out of the
“ castle, without an order from one of the
“ officers of the staff, delivered in person.

“ The same rule must be observed with

“ respect

“ respect to the prisoners who may have
“ leave to walk in the garden.”

*Translation of a Letter from Monsieur de St.
Florentin, Minister of Paris, to the Count
de Jumilbac, Governor of the Bastile, da-
ted the 23d Sept. 1764.*

“ I send you herewith some farther re-
“ gulations from his majesty for his service
“ at the Bastile.

“ The king directs that you receive such
“ persons as may at any time be sent with
“ a letter from the lieutenant general of the
“ police, as circumstances may sometimes
“ render this necessary. In this case, you
“ will afterwards receive an order in form.
“ You will likewise be pleased to observe
“ the same with respect to such visits to
“ prisoners, as the lieutenant general of
“ the police may think proper to give them
“ permission to receive.

“ I am, &c. &c.”

Regulations

Regulations to be observed.

“ The governor of the Bastile, or he
“ who may command there for the time,
“ is only to obey such orders as come from
“ his majesty, or one of his secretaries of
“ state.

“ The rules established for the exterior
“ as well as interior service of the castle,
“ can in no respect be altered but by the
“ order of the governor; and in case of
“ his absence, nothing is to be changed but
“ by the express order of the minister who
“ has the department of Paris.

“ The governor is not to lie abroad, but
“ by permission of the above minister. The
“ *lieutenant du roi*, the major, and other
“ officers, must constantly pass the night
“ within the castle; and if it should at any
“ time be thought necessary, on account
“ of sickness, that the *lieutenant du roi* or
“ major should be conveyed to any other
D “ place,

“ place, the governor must first apprise the
“ minister.

“ No officer belonging to the castle is
“ ever to go out of Paris without the per-
“ mission of the governor.

“ It is his majesty's will that all the of-
“ ficers of the staff make one round at
“ least, daily ; that all those officers, as above
“ mentioned sleep in the castle ; and that,
“ in the day time, two constantly remain
“ in it.

“ The king, having himself received the
“ oath of fidelity from the governor, au-
“ thorises him to administer it to the other
“ officers.

“ It is his majesty's will, that in case of
“ the absence of the governor by leave or
“ otherwise, the officer, who may com-
“ mand in the mean time in his stead, shall
“ not allow any one from abroad to see or
“ speak to any of the prisoners, unless up-
“ on production of an order from his ma-
“ jesty ; and that then the prisoner shall
“ receive

“ receive the visit, in the council-room, in
“ the presence of two officers.

“ The officers of the staff must take their
“ turn in visiting the prisoners every day
“ in their rooms, except such prisoners as
“ the governor may forbid them to go to.
“ They must render an account of their
“ visits to the governor, or to him who
“ may command in his absence.

“ His majesty orders the governor of his
“ castle of the Bastile to cause the above
“ regulations to be observed; and com-
“ mands all officers and other persons be-
“ longing to it strictly to conform to them
“ according to their respective duties and
“ occupations.

“ Done at Versailles, the 20th Sept. 1764.

Signed “ LOUIS.

And lower down “ PHELYPEAUX.”

It appears that registers were kept of the
prisoners. The first contained their names,

the day of their arrival, the time of their discharge or death, the tower where they were lodged, and remarks and observations upon them.

Another book contained likewise their names, quality, day of arrival, and an inventory of the effects found * on them.

A third, called the discharge-book, contained the prisoner's receipt for his effects, which were always delivered to him when he was set at liberty. In this book he likewise signed a declaration, to which he took

* The following translation of the account of things found on Monsieur de la Bourdonnais, who had commanded the French squadron in India, may serve to shew the form of this register.

“ This day, the 2d of March 1748, arrived at the
 “ Bastile, by order of the king, the Sieur Francis
 “ Mahé de la Bourdonnais, chef d'escadre, on whom
 “ there was found 16 pieces of gold of 24 livres each;
 “ 10 pieces of gold of different foreign countries,
 “ Spain, England, and the East-Indies. These only
 “ have been detained by us.

Signed “ MAHÉ de la BOURDONNAIS.”

his

his oath, that he would never reveal any thing he had heard or seen in the Bastile; but, as many persons have published what they learnt there, we must suppose that, as the oath was compulsatory, they thought themselves dispensed from observing it.

All that has as yet come to light of these books, as well as other papers belonging to the Bastile, is only by detached parts. The books that have appeared refer to others that are yet wanting. The papers belonging to the prisoners were generally sent to the police-office; and without these, without the books mentioned as wanting, and the examinations of the prisoners, the account given of them must unavoidably be imperfect; nor should I have attempted it, but to satisfy the curiosity of some of my friends, who, I hope, will therefore receive it with indulgence*.

The

* Copies of many books that had been prohibited were found at the Bastile; likewise papers that had on

The manner of arresting persons may have differed, according to their importance with the public, or other circumstances attending them; some were arrested in their houses; some secretly on the roads or in the streets at night; and some were even seized and brought away from foreign * countries.

different occasions been sent thither as to a place of safety. The author of the *Bastille dévoilée* tells us that he found some important family papers, which he delivered to the persons whom they concerned. That he likewise found there, and has in his possession, some treaties with foreign courts; plans of attack and encampments; and works in manuscript and in print on a variety of subjects.

* Besides the publisher of the Leyden Gazette, whom I have mentioned, I could give several other instances. We find on the Registers of the Bastille for 1752, Mons. Bertin de Frateaux, who arrived on the 25th of April of that year, and died there the 3d March 1779. He was seized at Marybone, carried to Gravesend, put on board a vessel there, landed at Calais, and was from thence conveyed to the Bastille. His misfortunes seem to have been owing to an unnatural father; who, being on terms of intimacy with the minister, obtained a *lettre de cachet* to arrest and confine his son.

See

countries. The mode of treating all prisoners, after they arrived at the Bastile, seems to have been nearly the same, except that some had a greater degree of liberty than others, more conveniences, and a better table. But if the offence was important, or, which was the same thing, if it was thought so by the minister, the prisoner, however high in rank, was totally denied any communication with the rest of mankind, except with those who belonged to the place, and were sent to him by the governor.

So great was the secrecy observed in the prisons of state, that persons have been privately arrested and confined in them for years, without its being known to their friends or families what had become of them, till they were able, on being discharged, to tell their story; and even then,

See "Histoire de Mr. Bertin, Marquis de Frateaux, par Mr. le Comte d'H——;" dedicated to the late Princess of Orange.

the fear of being again deprived of their liberty induced them to be extremely circumspect in what they said.

As soon as a prisoner arrived at the Bastille, he was conducted to the council-chamber, where he was examined by the major in presence of the *lieutenant du roi*. The usual questions respected his birth, country, occupations, and matters of a public nature. Every thing was taken from him that could be employed to commit any violence on himself or others, or facilitate his escape. These were put into a box*, with a label on the outside of it, mentioning the tower and number of the chamber where he was to be confined. Having signed the inventory of the things that were taken from him, and a copy of his examination, he was then sent to his room. He was next examined by one of the king's commissaries, and sometimes in the presence of

* The boxes containing the effects of the prisoners were ranged in a room near the council-chamber.

the lieutenant of the police. The examinations of some prisoners were frequently repeated, and it appears by the testimony of many, that they were made with much art, or rather with that sort of cunning which is nursed under despotism, and there successfully employed either to conceal or to discover guilt.

The prisoners were not allowed to be shaved, until after the second examination; or until all had been obtained from them that was required. There are instances of some remaining several months without obtaining this indulgence; which, and the hearing mass, and the use of books, were constantly denied them until leave came in * writing, from the minister of

* The following are two extracts from letters of Monsieur de Sartine.

“ Je consens, Monsieur, à ce que le Sieur Guillaume, prisonnier, soit rasé, et entende la messe, les
“ dimanches

of Paris, through the lieutenant of the police. They were shaved by the barber of the Bastille, who likewise pared their nails; the turnkey or a soldier constantly attending, lest they should attempt to seize the instrument by violence. It was not until the officers had full experience of a prisoner's calmness and resignation that he was permitted to have a knife to cut his victuals *, or even tongs for his fire: nor could any of the regulations on this head be deviated from, but by express permission. Yet notwithstanding those extreme precautions,

“ dimanches et fêtes. Vous pouvez aussi lui donner
 “ des livres pour l’amuser.”

“ Je vous prie de donner à Monsieur le Marquis
 “ de Beauvau toutes les hardes dont il peut avoir
 “ besoin pour le moment; de le faire raser, enten-
 “ dre la messe, et lui donner des livres pour s’amuser.
 “ Je consens aussi à ce que le Sieur Dufretel ait toutes
 “ ces douceurs, et que vous lui donniez de quoi m’écrire,
 “ ainsi qu’à Monsieur Chardon.”

* The meat was cut by the turnkeys who brought the victuals.

there

there are several instances of prisoners who destroyed themselves. One threw himself from the top of one of the towers, on which account the walks there were for some time forbidden, and never ~~permitted~~ ^{permitted}, but to persons in whom the governor thought he could confide. We find a remarkable circumstance mentioned in a letter to Monsieur de Sartine, from Monsieur Chevalier, Major of the Bastile, dated the 19th of November 1767, of which the following is an extract.

“ The prisoner Drohart in going through
“ the court * flew back to his room. The
“ turnkey followed him. He stood at the
“ door to defend the entry ; the turnkey
“ tried to force it, not perceiving that he had
“ a knife in his hand, till he received a
“ wound in his belly, of which it is
“ thought he will probably die before the

* It appears that the prisoner was delivered to the custody of an inspector of the police to be conveyed to some other prison.

“ morq-

“ morning, and he has accordingly received the sacraments. The prisoner immediately gave himself a wound also, and expired about ten minutes after.”

Monfieur de Sartine writes in reply :

“ To Monfieur Chevalier, Major of the Bastile.

“ I have learnt with very great concern, the melancholy and unlucky accident that happened this morning at the caſtle. If the precaution of not leaving a knife or any other inſtrument with the priſoners, had been exactly obſerved, and their rooms and perſons regularly ſearched, this miſfortune would have been prevented. I hope, Sir, that you will redouble your zeal and attention, for the good of the ſervice, and ſecurity of the priſoners.

“ I am, &c. &c.

Signed “ DE SARTINE.”

Viſits

Visits to prisoners, if from persons abroad, was an indulgence seldom granted, and extended only to those who enjoyed some particular protection, and were confined for slight offences. The following letter from Monsieur de Sartine to Mr. de Gayonnet at Vincennes, will enable the reader to judge.

“ The Sieur Dardot and his wife, who
“ have the care of the family affairs of
“ the Baron de Verac detained by order
“ of his majesty at the prison of Vincennes, having asked my permission to see
“ him, to carry him some clothes, some
“ *pastils of Althea*, and to give him an account of his domestic affairs, you will
“ be pleased to permit them to speak to
“ him, and to deliver him the things I
“ have mentioned. These persons, however, must be searched, and the pastils
“ analysed according to custom :—In every
“ thing

“ thing the usual precautions are to be
“ observed.

“ I am, &c. &c.

Signed “ DE SARTINE.”

Besides the precautions mentioned in this letter, some officer belonging to the Bastile was always present during the visits; nor were these rules ever deviated from unless by express command.

Perhaps I cannot give the reader a better idea of the manner in which the general class of prisoners was treated, than by communicating to him what was related to me by a person of scrupulous veracity, who was confined in the Bastile above eight months.

“ About five in the morning on the
“ 2d of April 1771, I was awaked by a
“ violent knocking at my chamber-door,
“ and was commanded, in the name of
“ the king, to open it. I did so, and an
“ exempt

“ exempt of the police, three men who
“ appeared to be under his orders, and
“ a commissary, entered the room. They
“ desired me to dress myself, and began
“ to search the apartment. They ordered
“ me to open my drawers, and having
“ examined my papers, they took such
“ as they chose, and put them into a box,
“ which, as I understood afterwards, was
“ carried to the police-office. The com-
“ missary asked me my name, my age,
“ the place where I was born, how long
“ I had been at Paris, and the manner I
“ spent my time. The examination was
“ written down by him; a list was made
“ of every thing found in the room,
“ which, together with the examination,
“ I was desired to read and sign. The
“ exempt then told me to take all my
“ body linen and such clothes as I chose,
“ and to come along with them. At the
“ word *all* I startled; I guessed where
“ they were about to take me, and it
“ seemed

“ seemed to announce to me a long train
“ of misery. Having shut and sealed the
“ drawers, they desired me to follow
“ them; and in going out, they locked
“ the chamber door and took the key.
“ On coming to the street, I found a
“ coach, into which I was desired to go,
“ and the others followed me. After
“ sitting for some time, the commissary
“ told me they were carrying me to the
“ Bastille, and soon afterwards I saw the
“ towers. They did not go the shortest
“ and direct road; which I suppose was
“ to conceal our destination from those
“ who might have observed us. The
“ coach stopped at the gate in the street*
“ Saint Anthony. I saw the coachman
“ make signs to the sentinel, and soon
“ after the gate was opened: the guard
“ was under arms, and I heard the gate
“ shut again. On coming to the first

* See Plan I.

“ draw-

“ drawbridge *, it was let down, the
“ guard there being likewise under arms.
“ The coach went on and entered the
“ castle, where I saw another guard under
“ arms. It stopped at a flight of steps at
“ the bottom of the court †, where being
“ desired to go out, I was conducted to
“ a room that I heard named the council-
“ chamber. I found three persons sitting
“ there at a table, who, as I was told,
“ were the *lieutenant du roi*, the major,
“ and his deputy. The major asked me
“ nearly the same questions which the
“ commissary had done, and observed
“ the same formalities in directing me to
“ read and sign the examination. I was
“ then desired to empty my pockets, and
“ lay what I had in them on the table.
“ My handkerchief and snuff-box being
“ returned to me, my money, watch, and

* See Plan 6.

† See Plan R.

“ indeed every thing else, were put into
“ a box that was sealed in my presence,
“ and an inventory having been made of
“ them, it was likewise read and signed
“ by me. The major then called for the
“ turnkey whose turn of duty it was, and
“ having asked what room was empty,
“ he said, the *Calotte de la Bertaudiere* *.
“ He was ordered to convey me to it, and
“ to carry thither my linen and clothes.
“ The turnkey having done so, left me
“ and locked the doors. The weather
“ was still extremely cold, and I was
“ glad to see him return soon after-
“ wards with fire-wood, a tinder-box, and
“ a candle. He made my fire, but told me,
“ on leaving the tinder box, that I might
“ in future do it myself when so inclined †.

* The highest room of that tower.

† Prisoners who were not allowed to have a servant of their own, sometimes were indulged with an invalid soldier to attend them; but those who had neither, made their bed, lighted their fire, and swept their room, themselves.

“ From the time the *exempt* of the police
“ came into my room, I had not ceased
“ to form conjectures about the cause of
“ my imprisonment. I knew of none,
“ unless it were some verses and sketches,
“ relative to the affairs of the times.
“ Though they were indiscreet, they
“ were of little importance. The only
“ writing that might have seriously given
“ offence to the government, I had never
“ shewn, but to one person in whom I
“ thought I could confide: I found after-
“ wards he had betrayed me. *liv. Ballou* ”

“ When I heard the double doors shut
“ upon me a second time, casting my eyes
“ round my habitation, I fancied I now
“ saw the extent of all that was left to
“ me in this world for the rest of my days.
“ Besides the malignity of enemies, and
“ the anger of a minister, I felt that I ran
“ the risk of being forgotten; the fate of
“ many who have no one of influence to

“ protect them, or who have not par-
“ ticularly attracted the notice of the
“ public. Naturally fond of society, I
“ confess I looked forward to the abyss of
“ lonely wretchedness, that I thought
“ awaited me, with a degree of horror
“ that cannot easily be described. It was
“ different from any thing I had felt be-
“ fore. I even regretted now, what I
“ had formerly considered as the greatest
“ blessing, a healthy constitution that had
“ never been affected by disease. I re-
“ collect with humble gratitude the first
“ gleam of comfort that shot across this
“ gloom. It was the idea, that neither
“ massive walls, nor tremendous bolts, nor
“ all the vigilance of suspicious keepers,
“ could conceal me from the sight of God.
“ This thought I fondly cherished, and
“ it gave me infinite consolation in the
“ course of my imprisonment, and prin-
“ cipally contributed to enable me to
“ support

“ support it with a degree of fortitude
“ and resignation that I have since won-
“ dered at.—I no longer felt myself
“ alone.

“ At eleven, my reflections were inter-
“ rupted by the turnkey, who entered with
“ my dinner. Having spread the table
“ with a clean napkin, he placed the dishes
“ on it, cut the meat, and retired, taking
“ away the knife. The dishes, plates, fork,
“ spoon, and goblet, were of pewter. The
“ dinner consisted of soup and *bouillie**, a
“ piece of roasted meat, a bottle of good
“ table wine, and a pound loaf of the best
“ kind of household bread. In the even-
“ ing at seven he brought my supper, which
“ consisted of a roast dish and a ragout.
“ The same ceremony was observed in
“ cutting the meat, to render the knife un-
“ necessary to me. He took away the

* The beef with which the soup is made.

“ dishes he had brought for dinner, and
“ returned at eight the next morning to
“ take away the supper things. Fridays
“ and Saturdays being fast or *maigre* days,
“ the dinners consisted of soup, a dish of fish,
“ and two dishes of vegetables; the sup-
“ pers, of two dishes of garden-stuff, and
“ an omlet, or something made with eggs
“ and milk. The dinners and suppers of
“ each day of the week were different, but
“ every week was the same: so that the
“ ordinary class of prisoners saw in the
“ course of the first week their bill of fare
“ for fifty years, if they staid so long.

“ I had remained in my room about
“ three weeks, when I was one morning
“ carried down to the council-chamber,
“ where I found the commissary. He be-
“ gan by asking most of the questions that
“ had been put to me before. He then
“ asked if I had any knowledge of some
“ works he named, meaning those that
“ had been written by me; — if I was ac-
“ quainted

“ acquainted with the author of them ;—
“ whether there were any persons concern-
“ ed with him ;—and if I knew whether
“ they had been printed ?—I told him,
“ ‘ That, as I did not mean to conceal any
“ thing, I should avoid giving him need-
“ less trouble ;—that I myself was the
“ author of the works he had mentioned,
“ and guessed I was there on that account ;
“ —that they never had been printed ;—
“ that the work, which I conceived was
“ the cause of my confinement, had never
“ been shewn to any but one person, whom
“ I thought my friend ; and having no ac-
“ complices, the offence, if there was any,
“ rested solely with myself.’ He said my
“ examination was one of the shortest he
“ had ever been employed at, for it ended
“ here.—I was carried back to my room,
“ and the next day was shaved for the first
“ time since my confinement.

“ A few days afterwards I wrote to the
“ lieutenant of the police, requesting to be

“ indulged with the use of books, pen,
“ ink, and paper, which was granted ;
“ but I was not allowed to go down to
“ the library to choose the books. Several
“ volumes were brought to me by the
“ turnkey, who, when I desired it, carried
“ them back and brought others.

“ After my last examination I was taken
“ down almost daily, and allowed to walk
“ about an hour in the court within view
“ of the sentinel : but my walks were fre-
“ quently interrupted ; for, if any one ap-
“ peared, the sentinel called out ‘ *Au cabi-*
“ *net !* ’ and I was then obliged to conceal
“ myself hastily in a kind of dark closet in
“ the wall near the chapel.

“ The sheets of my bed were changed
“ once a fortnight, I was allowed four
“ towels a week, and my linen was taken
“ to be washed every Saturday. I had a
“ tallow candle daily, and in the cold sea-
“ son a certain number of pieces of fire-
“ wood. I was told that the allowance of
“ fire

“ fire to the prisoners began the 1st of November and ceased on the 1st of April, and that my having a fire in April was a particular indulgence.

“ After being detained above eight months, I was informed that an order had come to discharge me. I was desired to go down to the council-chamber: every thing I had brought with me was returned, together with the key of my apartment, which I found exactly in the state I left it on the morning of the 2d April 1771.

“ During my confinement I wrote many letters to several of my friends, which were always received with civility, but not one of them had been delivered.”

Among the many distressing wants to which persons confined in prisons of state were exposed, the most important, perhaps, was, that they were prevented seeing any one in whom they could place confidence, from whom they could ask advice, or receive

ceive the consolation that is to be found in friendship. Ever obliged to be on their guard in all they said; uncertain of their own destiny, and of the fate of the wife, the child, or the mistress, they had left behind them; ignorant of what passed beyond the walls of their chamber, their thoughts, shut up in their own bosoms, constantly ruminated upon their unhappy fate, to which they saw no end. The day, the year, revolved in one continued scene of silent wretchedness; and the mind never being diverted from the object of its grief, not even by some fresh misfortune, it cannot seem surprising that many persons, who had never before shewn symptoms of insanity, lost, with their liberty, their reason.

It appears that the profits of the governor were in proportion to the number of his prisoners; the commissary was paid a certain sum for each examination; hence it became the advantage of the one to detain, and of the other to torment them: the
senti-

sentiments of humanity were thereby constantly opposed by self-interest, which could assume the mask of zeal and duty.

It is said, that they sometimes confined a spy of the police in the same room with a prisoner, who, under the appearance of a fellow-sufferer, tried to discover his secrets; and when they had obtained what they wished to know, or found the attempt ineffectual, he was withdrawn, under the pretence of removing him to another apartment.

Some prisoners had permission, at stated times, to walk on the top of the castle, and in the garden X; but this indulgence was but seldom granted.

The idea that was entertained, that prisoners were sometimes privately put to death, seems to be entirely a popular prejudice. A skeleton that was brought out when the place was taken, confirmed the notion, and gave birth to a variety of idle stories. A moment's reflection was sufficient

ent

ent to convince any one, that if so detestable a crime had been committed, the body would have been interred; and it afterwards appeared that the skeleton had been brought thither by the surgeon, for his studies in anatomy. The person who gave me the account of his confinement, which I have already communicated, informed me that while he was in the Bastile he found written on the inner margin of a volume of the *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, the following memorandum.

“ Joseph Renoux dit des Citernes, de
“ Marseille, a été saisi le 30 Aout 1766, à
“ Nanci, et conduit à la Bastile: il ecrivit
“ ceci le 27 Fevrier 1767.”

After he was set at liberty, he inquired who des Citernes was, and into the cause of his confinement. Besides other offences, he found he had written an apology of the conduct of *Damiens* the assassin. For this crime alone, the laws would probably have condemned him, yet six months had elapsed,
and

and he not only was alive, but indulged with the use of books. He was afterwards informed by a Monsieur Diodet, who had been confined twelve years in the Bastile, that he was lodged there three years in the same room with Citernes:—another proof that he neither was put to death, nor even treated with much severity. Perhaps a minister might think such an offence a subject unfit to be agitated before the public, and that it was more prudent, in a country where arbitrary means could be employed, to confine the author and suppress his work, than bring them into a court of justice. Yet if the practice had existed of putting prisoners secretly to death, this man, in all probability, would not have escaped it*.

Prisoners

* Since writing the above, it was announced in the news-papers, that in demolishing the foundations of the Bastile, three skeletons had been found. It was done in a manner which seemed intended to insinuate that they were the remains of persons who had been privately

Prisoners who had not the means or the permission to have a servant of their own, when ill, were attended by an invalid soldier, who, if the case required it, lay in the same room with them. Sometimes they were taken care of by a nurse. If the sick person was declared to be in danger, he was allowed to confess to the chaplain, and to receive the sacraments. These were brought in the evening, after it grew dark,

vately put to death. But on Monday, May 3d, two advertisements appeared, one from the *lieutenant de Maire*, and committee who have the direction of the public works, the other from some members of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, to say, that they had carefully inquired into the subject; that the skeletons were found 25 feet under the surface of the earth, in the ruins of some old works that had formerly stood where the outwork X was; that they must consequently have been buried there before that work was constructed, and from this circumstance, and their appearance, might have lain there some centuries. I only mention this circumstance to shew, that had any probable proof existed, it would certainly have been produced; and I see no reason to alter the opinion, that no one has either been privately put to death, or to the torture, since the accession of Louis XIV.

from

from the parish church of St. Paul. The procession was admitted to the court, where the governor's house stood, the guard being under arms. Those who bore the lights remained there. The priest who was to administer the sacraments, and his assistant, were conducted into the sick person's room, and when the ceremony was ended, were sent back in the same manner.

If a prisoner died, the governor immediately apprised the minister of Paris, and the lieutenant general of the police. The king's commissary of the Bastile came ^{thither} ~~thither~~, and in the presence of the major, the physician, and surgeon, made out what is called a *procès verbal*, or declaration, that being called to the Bastile on such a day and hour, he saw a person named so and so, lying dead; that he was informed by such persons, naming the physician, surgeon, &c. that he died of such a disease; that he found in the room such and such articles, and so on. This being done, or-
7 ders

ders were given to bury the body. The interment was always in the evening, at the burying ground of St. Paul's, and at least two persons belonging to the Bastile accompanied it, who signed the parish register; but the name of the deceased inserted there, was frequently a fictitious one.

Persons were sometimes sent to the Bastile by way of temporary punishment: and sometimes at the request of their families, to prevent them from doing some improper action. Prisoners of that kind had many indulgences that were denied to others, and were set at liberty as soon as it was thought it could be done with safety. There are many instances of this kind. The late Maréchal de Richelieu, who was thrice confined in the Bastile, was sent there in 1716 on account of a duel, and we find that the prince de Conti, and several of his friends, came to visit him.

If

If a prisoner was to be tried by a court of justice, the governor was apprized by a letter from the minister, and directed to send him to the place where he was to be tried, as often as the court required it. An officer properly authorized came to demand him; he was then sent under a guard, that waited to bring him back. The major and another officer went in a coach with him, nor was he permitted to speak to any one, but when before the court. There are instances, however, that prisoners of this description have been allowed to see their counsel; but always in the presence of the king's commissary and other officers.

Perhaps it was the abuse of the *lettres de cachet*, rather than their institution, that merited the execration in which they were held; for however extraordinary it may seem, they were not unfrequently used to serve the purposes of humanity. There are many instances of persons, who, on account of private disputes, or affairs of state,

F

would

would have been exposed to public punishment, that were shut up by a *lettre de cachet* until the danger was past, or the matter accommodated or forgotten. It may undoubtedly be objected, that keeping a person from justice is itself a crime against the public; but in forming a judgment upon this subject we ought to take into consideration the prejudices entertained in the country where this authority was employed. It should be remembered, that, by an old and barbarous practice, the disgrace attending a capital punishment, inflicted by the laws, was reflected upon all the family of the criminal; and that in many instances it required a public act of the supreme power to wipe off the stain, and again enable them to serve their country. In as far, therefore, as the *lettres de cachet* counteracted the effects of these prejudices, they were useful; but though they were signed by the king, from the idea that it was proper to have them ready for cases of emergency, ministers

nisters, and governors of provinces, &c. were generally furnished with them in blank, to be filled up at their discretions; and the friends and favourites of those ministers sometimes obtained them from them, as is proved by the case of Monsieur de Frattaux *, and by many other instances.

If we compare the number of persons that were confined in the prisons of state, with the population of the kingdom, it certainly bears no proportion to the horror those prisons inspired. The author of the *Bastille dévoilée*, who, from the just indignation he expresses against them, cannot be supposed to have purposely diminished the number of the prisoners, after examining the registers of entries for 46 years, reckons the prisoners received during that period, at the Bastille, to be about *two thousand*. It may be observed, that in that epoch, is comprehended the persecutions on

* See page 38.

account of religion in the reign of Lewis XIV, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes *; and against the Jansenists while the cardinal de Fleury was minister. When the Bastile was taken, only seven prisoners were found in it. The people, who anxiously look after the wonderful, though in scenes of misery, seemed surprised, and even disappointed, to find so few: but in that moment of effervescence they forgot, that humanity and the love of justice, have constantly characterised the inclinations of their present sovereign.

When we impartially consider the state of France, and the interior transactions of that country, for many years past, we are obliged to confess, that it was ruled by the mildest despotic government of which I believe any example is to be found. The soft manners

* This edict, made in favour of the protestants, by Henry IV in 1598, was revoked by Lewis XIV on the 22d October 1685.

of a polished court had gradually spread their influence among all ranks of society, and even descended to the most inferior classes. The system of police, instituted in the reign of Lewis XIV, preserved public order; and perhaps in no town in Europe was the individual better secured against tumult and violence, than in the city of Paris.

But having said this, we must observe, that though arbitrary power was, comparatively with the population of the country, but seldom employed to deprive persons of their liberty, every one felt that it might be extended to himself; the mind was nursed in a state of abject fear; men were denied that inestimable privilege, the free communication of their thoughts and sentiments; and dissimulation became necessary to their safety. The towers of the Bastile and other prisons of state seemed to

stand aloft over the kingdom for the purpose of scaring its inhabitants.

I shall now proceed to give an account of prisoners who have been confined at the Bastile, and shall begin with the earliest registers that were found there, many of which were deposited at the Lyceum. I shall put down the number of persons that were sent thither in the course of each year, and the names of the ministers by whose orders they were confined; but notice only such, the causes of whose imprisonment may have reference to the temper of the times.

In 1663, fifty-four prisoners.—Ministers—Le Tellier and the Maréchal d'Etrées. Their offences consisted chiefly in obnoxious writings, and matters relating to the *Surintendant Monsieur de Fouquet*.

The Sieur de la Baziniere, treasurer of the *Epargne*. It is imagined this prisoner gave the name to the tower called *la Baziniere*,

niere, in which it appears he was long confined.

Pardier—discharged after two months detention, on condition that he abstain from writing news-papers.

Monsieur de Fouquet, surintendant of the finances. See Appendix, No. 1.

L'Epine, a priest; discharged on condition that he quit Paris in 24 hours, and go to Egypt.

Madame la Roche Tudesquin, named Margaret Carita—"Suspected of being concerned in a treasonable design against the king of Denmark."

Edmund Coquier, formerly a servant of Monsieur de Fouquet—"A printing press was found in his house in the Rue de Seve, where a book in defence of Monsieur de Fouquet was clandestinely printed, entitled, *Answer to the Reply of the Chevalier Talon.*"

In 1664, the names of only thirteen persons have been discovered; imprisoned by

the same ministers.—Most of them for Jansenism. See Appendix, No. 2.

The Count de Crussol.—The letter directs that he should neither be permitted to see, nor speak to, any one.

The Count de Sault. He was confined and discharged at the same time with Monsieur de Crussol, and as their confinement was in consequence of a resolution of the *maréchals* * of France, it was probably on account of some private quarrel.

Pierre le Mounier, bookbinder. Examined the 16th and 31st July.—Condemned the 13th September by the court of the Châtelet, to be whipt, and sent to the galleys for nine years.

The greatest part of the register of 1664, and the whole from thence to the year 1681, has not yet been found; or at least, has not yet been communicated to the

* The *maréchals* of France formed a tribunal which judged all matters of honour, &c. and had the power of causing any one to be arrested.

public: but during that period, there were many persons of distinction sent to the Bastile. Among these, were Monsieur de Bussy Rabutin, on the 17th April 1665, by order of the king, for a work entitled, *L'Histoire Amoureuse des Gaules* *." He was discharged the 16th May 1666, and exiled to his estate in Burgundy. See Appendix, No. 3.

In 1671, the Count, afterwards Duke of Lauzun, who had been sent to the Bastile once before. See Appendix, No. 1.

* The following is a copy of the entry of Monsieur de Bussy :

" Aujourd'huy 17 Avril 1665, est entré au chateau
 " de la Bastile, par ordre du Roi, Roger de Rabutin
 " Comte de Bussy, lequel avoit sur lui 27 livres en
 " argent blanc; 96 livres en or, et 17 livres 10 sols
 " en monnoie tant blanche que grise; plus, différentes
 " lettres de femmes, entièrement étrangères à sa deten-
 " tion; tout cela neantmoins nous est resté entre
 " les mains, & le dit Roger de Rabutin a signé son
 " entrée.

" Le Comte de Bussy RABUTIN,"

In

In 1674, the Chevallier de Rohan who was beheaded the 29th of November of that year. See Appendix, No. 4.

In 1680, the Maréchal de Luxembourg, who surrendered himself to the governor by order of the king; being involved in an information given against a woman named *La Voisin*, who pretended to foretel events, sold poisons, and was burnt on the 22d February 1680. See Appendix, No. 5.

In 1681, fifty-two prisoners.—Ministers—Le Tellier and Colbert.

Stephen de Bray, for blasphemy, sacrilege, and poisoning*. He is said to have been an accomplice of one James Dechaux and Jane Chanfrain, but of whom no account is given. He was condemned, and burnt at the Greve.

Paul Trovato, Don André Trovato, and Victorina Trovato—"Suspected of

* It is to be observed, that poisoning, about this period, and some years before, had become very frequent in France.

“ composing and selling improper drugs
“ and poisons.”

A man, who persisted in concealing his real name—Convicted of having distributed, under different names, writings against the established religion and the state. He was condemned to the galleys for life.

A great part of the registers of this year, and the whole of those of the two following years, are wanting.

In 1684, fifty-one prisoners.—Ministers—the same as in 1681.

Don Thomas Crisafi, knight of Malta, formerly colonel of the regiment of Crisafi at Messina; and Don Antonio Crisafi, his brother—“ Suspected of intrigues with the Spanish ambassador against the interests of the king.”—It is said in a note, “*They have several accomplices.*”

Pierre His, an inhabitant of Passy, for having assisted several persons to go clandestinely to America.

Joseph

Joseph Jarin, or Jarina, a footman of the Venetian ambassador—"For having said, in an antichamber at Versailles, amongst a number of other servants, *"Who can hinder me from killing the king?"*

Michael Botat, likewise a footman of the Venetian ambassador—"For the affair of his comrade Jarina."

The Sieur Marini, *envoy from Genoa.*

Besnoit, called Arnonville—"An evil-minded woman, who held improper discourse."

Charles Combon, called Count de Longueval—"A maker of horoscopes, a fortune-teller, and seller of drugs to procure abortions."

The Sieur Dugas, formerly a captain in the royal regiment of infantry. He was discharged after two years confinement, with orders not to approach any place where the king should be, nearer than twenty leagues.

The Sieur Beranger de la Berliere, major in the regiment of Burgundy—"For a plot against the king's person."

The Count de Morlot, native of the Hague—"Suspected of intrigues with the Prince of Orange. Letters were found with forged signatures. He took a false name, to serve his detestable purposes against the king's life; but in all the examinations, he uniformly denies the intentions imputed to him." He was removed to the castle at Vincennes.

The register of the whole of the year 1685 is wanting.

In 1686, a hundred and forty-seven prisoners.—Ministers—Le Tellier and Colbert. Most of them for matters of religion and offensive writings.

Desvallons—"For speaking insolently of the king."

Father de Hanne, an Irish Jacobine priest—"A dangerous madman."

The

The Sieur Duprez, his wife, daughter, and servant—"Of the pretended reformed religion.—For endeavouring to leave the kingdom."

The Sieur Beringhen, counsellor of the parliament—For matters of religion.—He was sent to the castle at Angoulême.

In 1687, thirty-four prisoners.—Ministers—Colbert, Le Tellier, Louvois, and Phelypeaux.

The Abbé Dubois—"A wicked and troublesome person*."

Laurence Lémier, *shoe-maker*, and his wife—"For dangerous discourse about the king."

Francis Brindjong, chaplain of Mauri-gard; for the same offence.

In 1688, thirty-one prisoners.—Ministers—Colbert and Le Tellier.

* Quere, Was not this the Abbé Dubois, that was afterwards a cardinal, and minister to the Regent Duke of Orleans?

Father Lewis Verdun, a Franciscan friar, and commissary general of the Holy Land.

In 1689, sixty-one prisoners.—Ministers—the same as in the preceding year. Chiefly on account of religion.

Paupillard—"A bad catholic."

The Duke de la Force—"For matters of religion."

In 1690, forty-seven prisoners.

The Sieur Cardel—"For important reasons, regarding the safety of the king's person." He died suddenly on the 13th June, 1715.

Saint Vigor—"Affecting to be a hermit, but a man of licentious manners."

John Blondeau, a hermit—"A suspected person."

The Sieur Braconneau, on account of religion. He died on the 2d March, 1691, of a wound he gave himself with a knife on the 18th February.

In 1691, thirty prisoners.—Ministers—Colbert, Le Tellier, Phelypeaux, and de Croissy.

The

The Marquis de Cessac — “For empoisonment.” He was discharged of all the accusations against him, after thirteen months confinement.

The Count de la Vauguyon and Monsieur de Courtenay, for a private quarrel.

Peter John Mere, professing himself a physician—“For selling improper drugs.” After thirty years confinement at the Bastile, he was sent to Charenton, probably having lost his senses.

In 1692, thirty-six prisoners.—Ministers—the same as before.

Jonas de Lamas, a baker—“For execrations against the king.” After being detained twenty years at the Bastile, he was sent to Bicêtre*.

In 1693, seventeen prisoners; thirty-six in 1694; and seven in 1695. The orders for receiving them are signed by Phelypeaux and Le Tellier. The offences are

* A prison and house of correction at Paris.

chiefly religious matters and writings against the government.

Fifteen were confined by the same ministers in 1696.

Isaac Armet de la Motte, a gentleman of Burgundy. The reason is not mentioned; but it appears that he was detained fifty-four years five months, and then transported to Charenton, probably insane.

John Hastings, an Englishman; captain in the navy of the king of Denmark—
“ Suspected of designs against the state,
“ particularly of a plot for burning his majesty’s ships in the port of Brest.”

In 1697, ten prisoners.

John de Pardieu, a priest—“ For marrying protestants.”

John Frederick Ex, or Hick, a Saxon,
“ formerly a lieutenant in the troops of
“ Brandenburg, detained on suspicion.—
“ He pretended that he was sent to France

“ by a colonel Puirckholtz, in the service
“ of the Elector of Saxony, to communi-
“ cate a project for *dispatching* the elector,
“ and getting the crown of Poland for the
“ Prince of Conti. He says that Puirck-
“ holtz was likewise able to *take off* the
“ Prince of Orange by means of a trum-
“ peter in his guards.”

The part of the register in which the celebrated prisoner with the mask is supposed to have ^{been} mentioned, is wanting.—He arrived at the Bastile, from the island Saint Marguerite, on the 18th of September 1698. It would be in vain to hope for any information about him from the papers that were found at the Bastile, as it appears, by unquestionable authority, that as much pains were taken there, after his death, to destroy every thing that could possibly lead to discover who he was, as had been observed, during his life, to conceal him from the eye of the public. For an inquiry into
this

this subject, I refer the reader to the Appendix, No. 6.

On the 30th of January 1699, the Count de Bozzelli, of Bergam, and his son, were arrested and sent to the Bastile by order of Colbert. The cause does not appear. The son was discharged the 2d of February 1700, and the father found means to make his escape on the 30th of August 1701.

The 9th October 1699, Bailly, a hatter—
“ For a design to establish a hat manufac-
“ tory in a foreign country.” Discharged
“ the 10th February 1700.

In August 1700, “ the Sieur le Bar, *aged*
“ 76.” It appears that he died there in
the year 1714.

The part of the register for 1701, that has been found, seems very imperfect. The names of ten prisoners appear.

Louisa Simon, a widow—“ Pretends to
“ tell fortunes, to have secrets for inspiring
“ love, and to be able to make marriages :

“ it appears that she cohabits with an abbé
“ named Mazures.”

On the 31st August, Faustina Maiola, widow of the Count Daniel de Bozzelli; Paula Seccafonarde, wife of the Count de Bozzelli; the Abbé Francis Bozzelli; Francis Maffoleny, valet de chambre of the Abbé Bozzelli; and Balthazar Lucotelli, valet de chambre of the Count Bozzelli; were arrested and sent to the Bastille on account of the Count Bozzelli having escaped from it the day before*. Reference, with respect to those prisoners, is made to another book which is wanting. They were discharged by an order from Colbert on the 8th December 1701.

In 1702, eleven persons.

John Galembert, of the Gensdarmes—
“ *A great traveller*—suspected of corre-
“ sponding with the enemies of the state—
“ exiled to Languedoc, his native coun-
“ try, to remain there.”

* See page 83.

The Sieur Constantin de Renneville—removed to Lille.—See Appendix, No. 7.

The Sieur La Perche, a fencing-master—
 “ Accused of having said—that the king
 “ oppressed his subjects, and only thought
 “ of amusing himself with his old woman *;
 “ that he would soon be a king of beg-
 “ gars; that his officers were starving;
 “ that he had ruined the kingdom by dri-
 “ ving away the Hugonots; and that *le*
 “ *roi se — de son peuple.*”—We know
 not what became of La Perche; but the
 major, or person who wrote the register,
 if not entirely of his opinion, by giving it
 so much at length, seems at least to have
 been amused with it.

Francis Theodore Fleurand, a capuchin
 friar, and native of Brandenburg—“ A
 “ spy in the service of the house of Auf-
 “ tria; a dangerous person; calling him-
 “ self of the family of Montmorenci; in

* Madame de Maintenon.

“correspondence with the dowager queen
“of Spain and some of the nobility of that
“kingdom.”—After having been detained
thirteen years at the Bastile, he was sent to
the fortress at Lisle.

The Prince de Riccia—“One of the
“party at Naples that is against the French
“succession. Has declared, in the course
“of his examination, that he knew of the
“conspiracy that was formed by some
“Spaniards to get the kingdom of Naples
“to declare for the archduke; and that
“the principal agent in that affair was
“Sotto Mayor, governor of the castle of
“Saint Helen.” This prisoner was first
arrested at Marseilles, was sent to the castle
at Vincennes, from thence to the Bastile,
from whence he was sent in 1713 to Or-
leans “till further orders;”—but we know
not what became of him afterwards.

In 1703, nineteen prisoners.

The Chevalier de Rosset, a gentleman of
Quercy—“For intending to join the in-
“surgents

"furgents in the Cevennes."—He was sent to Charenton in 1714.

The Sieur le Cocq, and Casimir his valet de chambre—"A spy of Marlborough, "and connected with the countess of "Montroyal,"

Dom John Tiron, a Benedictine monk, and prior of Meulan—"For different writings, on matters of religion and state, "and against the king and the Jesuits."

On being released from the Bastile, he was delivered over in charge to a Benedictine father named Saint Marthe in the suburbs Saint Germain.

The Sieur Germain Veillart, or Willard, an author—"A violent Jansenist, in connection with father Quesnel* ; got his "works printed, and managed his affairs "at Paris." He underwent *eighty-nine* examinations, fell ill the day he was discharged, and died a few days after.

* See Appendix, No. 2.

Nicholas Buiffen, for insolent letters against Samuel Bernard*, with an intention to hurt his credit.

The Sieur de Soulange, formerly a captain of infantry in the regiment of Orleannois—"A rogue, and spy on both *sides*."

From about this period to the end of April 1730, there has not been found any regular register, or continued account, of the prisoners. The information respecting them has been taken from detached leaves, and scraps of paper, and cards.

An Armenian patriarch.

An unknown prisoner, who appears to have been considered as of great importance, arrived on the 18th December 1710, by order of Phelypeaux.

In May 1712, a Franciscan friar, with his hands bound, and with strict orders that no one, but such as were appointed

* A famous court-banker.

by the lieutenant general of the police, should be permitted to see or speak to him. See Appendix, No. 8.

In 1716, twenty-seven prisoners, by order of the Regent.—Laurence d'Houry—
“ For disrespect to king George, in not
“ mentioning him in his almanack as king
“ of Great Britain.”

John Francis Armand du Pleffis, duke of Richelieu—For a duel with Monsieur de “ Matignon, count de Gacé”—Arrived the 1st March and was discharged the 21st of August.

Louis John Baptift de Matignon, count de Gacé—for the same cause.

Francis Arouet de Voltaire—“ For writing
“ against the regent, and other persons in
“ high offices.”

Amongst the satires that appeared at that time, were some verses that ended

“ J'ai vu ces maux, et je n'ai pas vingt ans.”

This

This was nearly the age of Voltaire, and he had already been suspected of being the author of other satires that had given equal offence. He was arrested and sent to the Bastille, where he remained near a year.—For some months he was denied the use of books and materials for writing; but he was afterwards indulged with them, and it was during his confinement that he composed the greatest part of the *Henriade*. The day after he was set at liberty he was presented to the regent, who received him with kindness; and desiring to know if he had any thing to ask, Voltaire replied, “*Monseigneur je trouverai fort bon si sa*
“*majesté voulait désormais se charger de ma*
“*nourriture; mais je supplie votre altesse*
“*de ne plus se charger de mon logement.*”

Duspoint—“Accused of having conducted a scheme of the Portuguese ambassador, to embark at Havre workmen from the cloth manufactories at Gobelins, Dornetal, and Elbeuf.”

On

On the 17th of December, Joseph Gorry, *for the second time*.—He was natural son of James Gorry, a farmer of Buffly le Repos, in Burgundy, and of the niece of an abbé Soulier, Syndic of the clergy. He assumed the name and arms of the late Messire Gorry de Montgomery, grandson by the mother of Messire Channel de Talmont, viceroy in Portugal. Under this name he got himself introduced into several houses at Paris, and married mademoiselle de Boulainvilliers, daughter of the marquis de Boulainvilliers, marquis of Saint Romain, said to be descended from the kings of Hungary. She brought to Gorry the marquise of Saint Romain, &c. of which he took the title, and pretended that his wife was heiress to mademoiselle de Monpensier*. By a deed

* Daughter to Gaston duke of Orleans (brother to Lewis XIII) by his first wife mademoiselle de Monpensier, whom he married in 1626, and who died in 1627, leaving an only daughter heiress of her immense estates.

of genealogy and papers annexed to it, obtained by the late marquis of Boulainvilliers, it appears that Boulainvilliers was related to that princess, and that he intended, in consequence thereof, to lay claim to some estates that had been sold by her.

This claim, revived by Gorry, had probably given offence; he had besides got into debt, and committed several disturbances: the police having orders to watch him, discovered his real descent; he was arrested and sent to the Bastille, where he had been once before, but we know not what afterwards became of him.

Charles la Baume de Montron, commissary of artillery—"Accused of having
" given false intelligence to the regent,
" in order to obtain rewards. He pre-
" tended that he had means of knowing
" the secrets of the Spanish ambassador,
" while an accomplice, named Mainbille,
" gave

“gave equally false information to the
“ambassador, telling him that his secretary
“betrayed him to the regent.”

On the 29th December 1718, mademoiselle de Launay, afterwards madame de Staal, together with other persons of the household of the duke and duchess of Maine, whose intrigues with the court of Madrid were discovered by the dispatches of the Spanish ambassador that were seized at Poitiers by order of the regent. See Appendix, No. 9.

The chevalier de Menil *, the marquis and marchioness de Pompadour, and several others, were sent thither about the same time, and on the same account.

* As soon as it was known in Paris that the chevalier de Menil was arrested, the marquis de Menil went to pay his court to the regent, and to assure him that the chevalier was neither his relation nor friend; the regent, turning away from him, said, “*Tant pis pour vous, Monsieur, le chevalier de Menil est un tres galant homme.*”

On

On the 28th of April 1719, the duke de Richlieu was sent to the Bastile for the third time: it was said to be for a secret correspondence with the court of Spain, but unconnected with the intrigues of the duke and duchess of Maine.

John le Fevre, a priest of the diocese of Troies—For having said, “that unless the regent changed his conduct, some misfortune would soon happen to him; that he would not go on long.”

In 1728, twenty-seven prisoners.

The abbé Blondel, called friar Lawrence. A number of Jansenists used to assemble at Vernouillet near Poisy, where they composed works against the *constitution* *; Blondel was one of their authors; he wrote a new life of the saints, and was employed by Duprez the bookseller to write on religion. His papers were sent to the king's library.

* See Appendix, No. 2.

Peter Vaillant, a priest, born at Mercy sur Seine, who had distinguished himself as a Jansenist in 1725. He was employed by de Senez and others of his sect, to subscribe in their name to the protests made by the Bishops of Montpellier, Bayeux, &c. against the *bull unigenitus**, and the constitution. After some months confinement he was discharged, with an order to quit the kingdom.

In 1730,—twenty-four prisoners—most of them for matters of religion.

In 1731, twenty-five.

The Sieur Lewis René de Boure, formerly an officer in the navy. He had written the plan of an address, which he proposed should be presented by the parliament to the king, against the Cardinal de Fleury. In the register it is observed, that he is “ a discontented schemer, who wrote

* See Appendix, No. 2.

“ libels

“ libels against persons in office, because
“ they neglected his projects.”

The Sieur Hugy. It is said: “It is his
“ majesty’s pleasure, that this prisoner shall
“ have every indulgence and conveniency
“ that is compatible with security; so
“ that no one from without be permitted
“ to see, or speak to him.” But it does
not appear either why he was confined, or
what became of him.

The Sieur Morvant, curate of Vincennes,
and la Piffotte “ For giving false informa-
“ tions against the Jansenists.”

It appears that a Monsieur de Bonnel,
in the course of different intrigues to be
made minister of the finances, proposed to
the cardinal de Fleury, a scheme for the
suppression of Jansenism. The cardinal hav-
ing approved it, Bonnel employed Mor-
vant as one of his agents, who acted as a
spy. He afterwards pretended that some
of the Jansenists had formed a design
3 against

against the cardinal's life. It was discovered that he had fabricated the story, without any sort of foundation for it; two *abbey*s, or livings, that had been given to him, were taken away, and he was arrested and sent to the Bastile.

M. Molinier de Bauvais, equerry to the duke of Orleans; afterwards exiled to his estate in Limousin. It appeared that he had received a sum of money from Monsieur de Bonnel, to assist him in his views of being made comptroller general.

It was discovered by Herault, lieutenant of the police, that a violent pamphlet, which appeared about this time against the cardinal, had been written by Bonnel, though he had artfully got it ascribed to persons that he knew opposed his interests. He and some of his accomplices were sent to the Bastile, and others ordered to quit Paris.

In 1732, fifty-three prisoners; chiefly on account of religion.

H

The

The Sieur Terraffon, for a design of carrying into foreign countries, the secrets and plans of the manufactory at Lyons. He died at the Bastille after twelve years confinement. It appears that he was treated with lenity, and allowed to walk about the place. Perhaps his not being set at liberty was owing to his having been forgotten.

D. Paul Sulian, Benedictine, of the abbey of Rebais, arrested at the request of the bishop of Laon, for having administered the sacraments to the abbé Tilories, without observing the usual ceremonies and respect. He had carried them in his pocket to avoid being discovered, as he and the abbé Tilories were Jansenists.

James Mercier, son of a painter—"For selling a print, representing the roasting of a pope larded with jesuits *."

Francis

* Satirical *caricature* prints were getting into vogue about this time; several persons were arrested for engraving

Francis Torcassi, a native of Italy—"For
"selling improper drugs, pretending they
"would produce the appearance and ad-
"vantages of youth." He had been
detained at the prison of Fort l'Eveque
twelve years, and was removed from thence
to the Bastile.

The chevalier Desfonds, a gentleman of
Vivarais, formerly a lieutenant of the regi-
ment of Conti—"For declaiming inde-
"cently against his majesty's ministers, and
"generals, especially against Monsieur de
"Louhendal."

Lewis Broeg, inn-keeper at the village
of Bouy. Three months after his arrival
at the Bastile, he threw himself from the
tower *du Coin*, and was killed on the spot.
It appeared afterwards, that he had been

graving and selling them; but this sort of humour
was suppressed almost as soon as it appeared, by the ter-
rors of the Bastile.

falsely accused of being an accomplice in the murder of two officers of the customs.

Pierre Santuron, accused of teaching persons to counterfeit convulsions. See Appendix, No. 10.

In 1733, sixty-three; and in 1734, fifty-seven prisoners.

The abbé Vaillant, chief of the sect called *Eliséens*, who pretended that he was the prophet Elias, sent back to earth for the conversion of the Jews. It has been already seen, that he had been put into the Bastile in 1728, and discharged on condition of quitting the kingdom; but notwithstanding his promise to do so, he remained, and made a figure among the convulsionaries of Saint Medard at the tomb of M. Paris*. After being confined twenty-two years at the Bastile, he was sent to Vincennes.

The Sieur Heudes, a priest of Rouen in Normandy—For debauchery.

* See Appendix, No. 10.

In 1735, seventy prisoners.

Poisson, an officer in the king's kitchen.—He died suddenly in the council-chamber of the Bastille, while taking hold of the pen to sign his examination.

Alexander d'Arnaud, called friar Amboise—Saying he was the prophet Enoch.

Malbay—"Convicted with the duke of Nivernois, one of those who contrived to derange his fortune, arrested at the request of the duke of Nevers".

The count d'Averne—"He taught his son, about five years of age, *to have convulsions**, and dissipated his fortune among impostors."

The chevalier *Wittering*, an Englishman—"Falsely accused by M. the chevalier de Rozen, to whom he had lent money."

In 1736, fifty prisoners, and forty-seven in 1737, chiefly Jansenists, convulsionaires, authors, printers, and booksellers.

* See Appendix, No. 10.

The Sieur de la Combe, director of the post at *Turin*—"For an affair of state."

The Sieur Carré de Montgeron, counselor of the parliament—"A convulsionary. He presented to the king at Versailles, a book intitled *The Truth of the Miracles of M. Paris.*"

In 1738, twenty-eight prisoners, chiefly for matters of religion.

Father Leonard Avril, called Boucheron, of the order of La Trappe—"A libertine, and cheat."

In 1739, thirty prisoners.

The duke de l'Esparé—"By way of correction for youthful follies."

The Sieur Broudin, a captain in the troops of Bavaria—"Accused of having committed an assassination by order of the Czarina."

Colonel Saint Clair, in the service of Sweden.

The

The count Drummond, called Lord Edward—"A convulsionary *."

In 1740, fifty-eight prisoners, and seventy in 1741, chiefly on account of religion.

John Lewis Tannier, curate of Saint Denis—"Accused of seducing women."

The chevalier de Mony—"Employed
" by the lieutenant general of the police,
" to write for him, but who secretly gave
" copies of what he wrote to the maréchal
" de Belle Isle, the cardinal de Toncfin,
" the duke de Richlieu, and the count de
" Saxe."

The Sieur George Husquin Beaudouin, called Bellecour—"A man of bad conduct,
" and violent enemy of M. Orry de Tulvy,
" the king's commissary for the affairs of
" the East-India company." It appears
that the prisoner came with other persons
from the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon,

* See Appendix, No. 10.

with complaints against Monsieur de la Bourdonnois.

In 1742, fifty-three prisoners were confined, almost all of them for matters of religion.

The abbé Brunet, a priest—"Directeur
"de convulsionnaires et de convulsionnistes."

with complaints against the...
Bourbon... of being...
HISTORICAL

HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTION.

REVOLUTION.

...for the...
...of...
...of the most...
...

I HAVE concluded the history of the Bastille, at the period which terminated the life and ministry of the cardinal de Fleury, who died at Iffy near Paris, on the 29th of January 1743, aged 89. Upon reassuming the narrative, at some future time, it will appear, that the number of persons confined in this and other prisons of state, began ^{thence forward} ~~then~~ greatly to decrease. Since then, persecution on account of religion has neither been frequent nor severe; the government

ment was no longer conducted by a bigot; and Lewis XV, instead of being guided by a confessor, was constantly under the influence of mistresses who were any thing but devout. The manners of the court were changed; decorum, and the duties of devotion, were less attended to; and the spirit of gallantry, that prevailed in the preceding reign, in this, degenerated into debauch. Respect for the opinions of the church of Rome, fell rapidly into decline; the pens of the most brilliant writers of the age were constantly employed to destroy it; and a sally of wit was often sufficient to throw ridicule upon prejudices, that till then had been held in solemn reverence. Though the liberty of the press was denied, the most free writings were universally circulated throughout the kingdom: the idea of restraint excited zeal to obtain, and curiosity to read them. Knowledge made a slow but effectual progress, and its lights at length became evident among all the different

different classes of the community. Paris had hitherto been considered as containing all that were eminent for arts or learning, and the sovereign, who alone could dignify and reward, attracted towards his residence both the wealth and talents of the provinces. But there now arose a number of men, who born with genius, and undisturbed by the dissipations of the town, gave themselves up in their retirement to the studies of the age, and who, if less polished, were perhaps more profound, than their cotemporaries in the metropolis. In the course of their inquiries and reflections, they were naturally led to compare the state of their own country with that of a neighbouring kingdom *. They saw the abuses

* Most of the best English authors were translated, and greatly admired; many men of letters could read them in their original language. A man eminent in literature observes, Il est de fait qu'à Versailles dans les 20 derniers années du regne de Louis XV, on redoutoit et l'on detestoit l'Angleterre comme exemple, cent

abuses that prevailed in their constitution, they traced them to their sources, and concluded, that until the evils were eradicated, that existed in the government and laws, all that could be done to remedy them would be but temporary and ineffectual. They seemed to wait the shock that might produce a change, and in the mean time their principles, though communicated with caution, spread their influence among the people, who now began to bear with impatience the grievances, of which they had long, but in vain complained.

Though the lower orders of the clergy respectfully trod the path to which their humble birth had destined them, they could

cent fois plus que comme rivale. C'étoit un des griefs contre les gens de lettres, qu'on accusoit d'Anglomanie. On auroit voulu voir abimer sous les flots, non pas la nation, qui nous avoit battus, humiliés, écrasés dans les quatre parties du monde, mais cette île si fierement republicaine, où les vengeances et les attentats du despotisme François ne pouvoient pas pénétrer, & qui faisoit dire à tous les gens capable de penser,—Il y a donc si pres de nous des hommes libres!

not help comparing the penury they were obliged to endure, with the luxury of those above them : such as were conscious of superior talents, felt with indignation the inferiority of their state ; hope, equally the parent of zeal and patience, was denied to all except the younger branches of the nobility, for whom the dignities and rich livings were exclusively reserved. It has been observed by some of their countrymen, that *the habits which these acquired, while awaiting their preferment in the ambiguous character of an abbé, but too frequently shewed themselves during the rest of their lives ; that their time and attention being more engaged with the intrigues of the court, and the charms of the capital, than with the duties of their profession, they always went to their flocks with reluctance, and quitted them without regret ; and that, no longer supported by superstitious prejudice, when the hour of trial arrived, they vainly ap-*
pealed

pealed to those, whose affections they had lost.*

The spirit of discontent had likewise pervaded the army.—The pay to the French soldier was less than to the foreigner of a similar corps, though in the same service; and, from the diminution in the value of money, by the increase of its influx into the country, it had become in reality too small.—An order was issued a few years ago from the war-office, requiring proofs of nobility as a necessary qualification to serve as an officer; if the order was put in force, the soldier who planted the standard on the breach, or performed any other sig-

* I cannot quote these general reflections on the superior clergy, without at the same time observing, that there are many, who, for their virtues and learning, would do honour to any age or country; but, unfortunately, in the late convulsions that have happened in France, the merit of individuals has been confounded amidst the prejudices that are entertained against their order in general.

nal

nial service, could not be promoted to be an ensign; instead of allowing him to hope, that by virtue and courage he might rise to the highest honours, if he thought at all, he must have felt, that he and all the soldiers of France were forbidden to aspire above their present state.—The preference given to families, who had risen, and were distinguished by the favour of the prince, over *the gentlemen of the provinces*, had obtained a kind of prescriptive sanction by constant practice. The regiments, in general, were commanded by young men, who only saw them a short time in the summer: instead of the frankness of the camp, they brought with them the modish manners of the town, and an affectation of superior importance: the performance of their duty was tiresome to themselves, and disgusting to those under their command*: the time fixed by the

* It will naturally occur to our reader, that here, as among the clergy, many exceptions must be made to these observations of their countrymen.

regulations being expired, they hastened back to Paris, and left the officers, who only knew and were known to the soldiers,—those on whom the discipline of the army depended,—dissatisfied with a court where desert passed unnoticed, unless patronised by a favourite. Gentlemen of old but not opulent families, men of acknowledged merit, and covered with wounds, have often been seen in the rank of lieutenant colonel, commanded by a boy, and without any expectation of rising.—Many of the voluminous regulations that were published by the council of war, that was appointed to model the army in 1788, had the ill fortune to disgust both the officers and their men. Rules and punishments were introduced from other services, which, though proper there, were perhaps inapplicable in France: they were universally condemned at the time, and have since been rescinded.

The

The seeds of republican principles, that were imported from the western hemisphere, found here a fertile soil; and all the fruit reaped from breaches of public faith and private honor, were notions of equality, a spirit of resistance to authority, disrespect for the established religion, an example of a successful insurrection, and an immense load of debt in addition to the burthens under which the kingdom already groaned.

The expenditure greatly exceeded the receipts; money borrowed on expensive terms, anticipations of the revenue, and other palliative expedients, though they removed the catastrophe for the moment, augmented the distress. The public credit was almost exhausted; the secret could no longer be concealed; and an assembly of *notables*, or of persons selected from the different orders of the state, was called to *advise the king**, but

* It was opened at Versailles the 22d of February 1787.

in reality to sanction a plan of revenue, that had been prepared by the minister of the finances *. As it affected the possessions of the church, it was violently opposed by the clergy. They were called upon to contribute to the exigencies of the state, in a regular and certain manner, like its other members. Such an interference with a property, which it was so much their wish to have thought sacred, they resisted as an impious encroachment upon their rights. But though all their arts and influence were employed to defeat the plan, it would have been adopted with some necessary alterations, and might probably have precluded the events that have since happened, or postponed them to another century, had not the minister, at the instant he stood in need of the support of the court, found himself deserted by his master. Amidst objects of so much greater magnitude, the intrigues that pro-

* M. de Calonne.

duced this change escape our notice; and I shall only observe by the way, that courtiers and ministers seemed chiefly occupied with their own passions and interests, without perceiving that the power of the throne already tottered on the brink of that ruin which it has since experienced. The man to whom the helm of government was now confided*, soon offended the public, and created an uncommon degree of distrust. The clamours of the nation, who apprehended a general bankruptcy, alarmed the court; he was forced to retire, and the direction of the finances was committed to a minister† who had long been the idol of the people. Yet, though their fears were in some degree quieted, the cry for the assembly of the states was still heard from every quarter

* The archbishop of Thoulouse, who, while he was minister, was translated to Sens, and after his retreat made a cardinal.

† Mr. Necker.

of the kingdom. Every observing man perceived a gathering storm, foresaw some great convulsion, some important change, yet none could guess how far that change would go, as the misconduct of the government exceeded every calculation that could be made.

The court had been accustomed to fear the influence of the parliaments*, who constantly suspected the intentions of the court. Though they were meant to be but tribunals, they had gradually assumed a political character; and in the immense intervals between the meetings of the states, the parliaments supplied their functions, by registering *edicts of finance*, and *ordinances* for altering or making laws. This ceremony, from usage, was thought necessary

* There was something in the name that seemed to alarm ministers; though to adopt an idea of M. de Voltaire, there was no more affinity between *les Parlemens de France*, and the Parliaments of England, than between a commercial consul at Smyrna, and a consul of ancient Rome.

to render them valid; ministers indeed have on some occasions pretended that the *edicts* and *ordinances*, were only sent to them to be promulgated, not to be sanctioned; but this the parliaments denied, observing that if the king assumed an exclusive power of making laws, and levying money, instead of being a monarch, whose authority was tempered by established rules, he became a despot. By their remonstrances and resistance, they had grown to be considered as guardians of the people against the authority of the prince; but as they had themselves often felt the weight of that authority, and as their apprehensions had lately been seriously revived, they perhaps flattered themselves, with the support of the states, and with being regularly constituted, what they had hitherto affected to be,—their representatives. It appears that they even expected to be called to sit in the states, in conformity to a precedent in the reign of Louis XIII.

They conjured the king to assemble them; they avowed with much apparent candour the error they had been guilty of in exercising a power that in reality did not belong to them; from which having declared their resolution to abstain, they left him no alternative.

Such an immense mass of power, supported by the public opinion, it was impossible to combat with an empty treasury. But had the minister* and the parliaments then come to an explanation of their differences, and amicably arranged them, it is probable that the assembly of the states might yet have been deferred: but neither party saw its danger; in deceiving, they were deceived; the court did not perceive that it was already on the edge of the precipice, from which it was shortly to be precipitated; and the parliaments as little suspected, that when the ancient

* Archbishop of Thoulouse, now cardinal de Lominé.
fabric

fabric fell they should be buried under its ruins.

The superior clergy and nobles, lulled by prejudice into a false security, either remained in indolence, or acted without a plan. It is true that this was neither the age of *superstition*, nor of the *league*; but when we consider the numbers of those who opposed many of the late changes, their wealth, and possessions, we may venture to affirm, that had they been united among themselves, and acted in concert with the court, they could not possibly have been effected. The commons therefore might in justice say to all the other orders of the state, it is not we who brought about the revolution, but yourselves.

The minister * who now swayed the measures of the cabinet, had been forced into office by his popularity, against the inclinations of the court. The power that

* Mr. Necker.

brought him in, was the only one he could depend upon, and he seems to have trusted to it both for defending him against his enemies, and enabling him to accomplish the reforms he had projected.

The *notables** were again summoned and consulted on the mode of forming and assembling the states; but, in opposition to the advice of a great majority of their members, it was resolved in the council, that the representatives of the *tiers état*, or commons, should be equal to those of the clergy and nobility together, or double in number to either of the other two. The sentiments of the minister were published in what was called *Rapport fait au roi dans son conseil par le ministre des finances*, together with the resolutions of the council in consequence of that report, dated the 27th of December, 1788. Re-

* The assembly was opened at Versailles on the 6th of November 1788,

gulations were issued for assembling the states, dated the 24th January, 1789, with a letter from the king dated the 27th, commanding the observance of them. These have been emphatically called the death-warrants of the monarchy. It was ordered that the elections should be made in the different bailiwicks according to their population. The mode that was prescribed for electing the representatives of the clergy, enabled the inferior clergy to chuse about two thirds from among themselves, whose birth and habits naturally united them with the *tiers etat*. But notwithstanding this immense preponderance on the side of the commons, the *veto*, or negative, of any one order might have annulled the resolutions of the other two. There was a decided majority in favour of the *tiers etat* among the clergy; but on the other hand, there was a still greater majority among the nobles, who, it was known, would oppose many of their pretensions.

tensions. The first object, therefore, that must have presented itself to the commons, was to unite the three orders into ONE assembly; on this, the success of their views depended; and it was suggested by the formation of the states itself, as it was naturally asked, for what purpose has our number been increased if the resolves of the majority of the members are liable to be constantly negatived by the obstinacy of a few.

The states were opened on the 5th of May at Versailles, with much pomp and ceremony, in a magnificent hall that had been constructed for that purpose. At one end of the hall, on a space that occupied about a fourth of the whole, and elevated by some steps above the rest, the king was seated on his throne; on his left, on a seat somewhat lower, was the queen; and on either side were his brothers, and the princes of the blood, except the duke of Orleans, who had been chosen a deputy and sat among

among the nobles. The sovereign was surrounded by all his court. In the lower part of the hall at a table opposite to the throne, were his ministers; on the right, on benches, were the clergy; on the left, the nobility; and across the hall, and facing the monarch, were the commons. Galleries for spectators were divided from the body of the hall, by rows of columns. The show was grand, and the silence and order that reigned, were perfect; but they reigned there for that day only. After the heralds had proclaimed the opening of the states, the king pronounced a discourse, which, while it preserved the dignity of the monarch, was expressive of the kindness of the parent; and he referred them to the keeper of the seals, and the minister of the finances, for an explanation of his intentions. The discourse of the keeper was general and oratorial, but men waited with impatience for that of the minister of the finances; they expected on this

this solemn occasion, to see an exact state of those affairs, which had been the subject of so much controversy and contradiction between him and a former minister^{*}; and, as such a statement must have been a work of long reflection, which he knew was to be examined by the critical eye of his enemies, and judged of by the nation at large, it might fairly be considered as a test of his knowledge and capacity. He read his speech; he entered into a minute account of the revenue and disbursements, and a variety of details, which perhaps it would have been fitter to have laid on the table in papers to be referred to. It was remarked, that long before the speech was ended, the court and assembly were tired. He pointed out the deficiency between the fixed receipts and payments to be fifty-six millions of livres †. He said that, as there were various

^{*} M. de Calonne.

† About 2,333,333 pounds sterling. Monsieur de Calonne stated the deficiency at the end of his administration

ous ways of filling up this deficiency without having recourse to new taxes *, the king had not been under that absolute necessity of calling the states which had been supposed ; that his doing so was only to be ascribed to his love for his people, and to his love of

nistration in April 1787, at 115 millions of livres, or £4,791,666 ; but from this sum should have been deducted 52,923,000 of livres, destined for the payment of so much debt due in 1787 ; instead of charging the whole amount, only the interest should have been charged, and supposing that interest with expences, at nearly 6 per cent. the deficiency when M. de Calonne quitted the ministry, if his statement be exact, was in reality only about 65 millions of livres. We find in several of the late estimates, the whole amount of sums to be reimbursed, stated in the expenditure without any explanation, by which means the public were often unnecessarily alarmed ; for if the money to be reimbursed was to be borrowed, the expenditure was only augmented by the extraordinary charges which might be occasioned in procuring it.

* He observed at this part, “ Quel pays, Messieurs, que celui où sans impôts et avec simples objets inaperçus, on peut faire disparoitre un deficit qui a fait tant de bruit en Europe.”

Discours de M. le Directeur gen. des Finances.

justice,

justice, which made him wish to consult their representatives, and with them take such measures as might tend to insure their future welfare, *and put the creditors of the state and the order of the finances under the safeguard of the nation.* He mentioned, the establishment and utility of provincial assemblies; matters relative to improvements in agriculture and commerce; the necessity of supporting the *caisse d'escompte* *, and a variety of other subjects, which he said would naturally occupy their attention. Though he evidently shewed an inclination that the orders should *in general* be separate, yet he was the first who expressly pronounced, in the states, the idea of their sometimes deliberating and voting in a body †. He entered into an examination

* A bank, that has lent above six millions sterling to government.

† “ Ce sera vous, Messieurs, qui chercherez d’abord à connoître l’importance ou le danger dont
“ il

tion of the subject, and while he advanced that there were many questions which it would be fit to decide in common, he said there were others that required to be considered and determined by the orders separately. And in speaking of the inconveniences of one assembly only, he observed it could not be doubted, but a king of France would have means of *captivating* those who by their eloquence and talents gained an ascendancy;—a suggestion that was immediately felt by the assembly as equally offensive and impolitic. The public were disappointed in his plan of finances; they were happy to find the deficiency so much less than had been imagined; but they observed, that instead of a great plan, adequate to the occasions of the state, and calculated permanently to prevent future embarrassments, it was a plan made up of

“ il peut etre pour l'etat que vos délibérations soient
 “ prises en commun ou par ordre, &c.”

Discours de M. le Directeur gen. des Finances.

parings and fractions; contrived merely to fill the present deficiency, but leaving the system as he found it, with all its vices and imperfections. His sentiments on the mode of deliberating, while they by no means satisfied the views of the commons, were considered by the other orders as an act of supererogation, which they loudly condemned. But though he fell in the opinion that had been entertained of his discretion and talents; as his integrity was unimpeachable, as he was considered to be the minister of the people, was known to be attached to their cause, and to be the warm defender of the public creditors, his popularity was but little affected.

That the idea of having but one chamber was already entertained by many of those who have since figured in the revolution, I will readily allow; but the subject was now opened by the minister himself, in the presence, and with the supposed approbation, of the king; and though not
in

in the extent they wished, the first step was made, and it was easy to foresee that their pretensions would not stop there.

Without entering into a history of the disputes between the commons and the other two orders about the mode of examining their powers*, I shall only observe, that on the 17th of June 1789, the commons constituted themselves *the national assembly*, declaring, that they were the competent representatives of the great body of the nation, and that there did not and could not exist any power between the assembly and the throne, to put a negative on its resolutions. On the same day they likewise declared that the taxes and duties then existing, not having been authorised by the national consent, were illegal; but from the necessity of the case, they con-

* The *tiers état* insisted that the examination of the powers should be made in common; the others, that each order should do it separately in their respective chambers.

firmed them, and resolved, that they should be collected until the day that the assembly (from whatever cause or authority) might be dissolved, and no longer. Advice of these resolutions was sent by the deputies to their constituents, with such reasoning and observations upon them, as they thought fit *.

The chambers of the nobility and clergy had in general been kept shut ; but the hall of the commons was open to the public; and besides the effect of this courtesy, and apparent frankness of proceeding, the people were in some degree associated in their sentiments and deliberations. The consequences were soon perceived. The road between Paris and Versailles was constantly covered with persons who attended the meetings of the

* The name of *aristocrate*, was given to those, who were supposed to be attached to the privileges of the nobility and clergy, and desirous to preserve the orders separate ; it was then smiled at, but has often since become the signal of death or insult to those to whom it was applied.

commons, and the motions and speeches made in the assembly, became subjects for speeches and motions with the orators in the Palais Royal *.

It was announced on the 20th of June, that the king would go to the States and hold a *Seance Royal* † on Monday the 22d: in order to make the necessary preparations for this ceremony, the hall was shut, and the different orders were commanded, by a message from his majesty, to adjourn till then. The deputies of the *tiers etat* nevertheless went to the hall; on being refused admittance, they assembled at a tennis-court; and, seeming to apprehend some violent act of authority, they took a solemn oath not to suffer themselves to be dissolved, but to meet, wherever it might be possible,

* The gardens and coffee-houses of the Palais Royal, have become the most general places of rendezvous at Paris.

† An assembly of the States, at which the king presides.

until the business for which they had been elected were completed. The *Seance Royal* having been put off to the 23d, on the 22d the commons again met, in the church of Saint Louis, where they were joined by the archbishops of Vienne and Bordeaux, the bishops of Rhodéz and Chartres, 149 of the inferior clergy, and two of the nobility of Dauphiny: several of the inferior clergy had joined them before. On the 23d the king came to the States. The three orders were assembled in his presence. The only minister who was absent on this occasion was the director general of the finances, which confirmed what had already been whispered, that some of the articles that were to be announced had been resolved on against his advice. The commons seemed prepared to hear, what they were certain they should disapprove. The king, in his discourse, put them in mind of what he had done, of the intentions he had professed, of the divisions that had prevailed in
the

the states, of the time that had been lost; he said, it was a duty he owed to the nation and to himself to put an end to their fatal differences, that he had for that purpose again come amongst them, and, as the common father of his subjects, and the protector of the laws, he would point out the true spirit of those laws, and repress the innovations in them that had been attempted. In a paper, read by the keeper of the seals, his majesty declared the three distinct orders to be the only true representatives of the nation; that their deliberations therefore were to be separate, though, on subjects of general utility, they might, *with his consent*, be in common; but he said, from these he expressly excepted whatever might regard the *form* to be given to the next assembly of the states, the ancient constitutional rights of the three orders, and the signiorial property and honorary prerogatives of the nobility and clergy; but he at the same time declared his desire, that,

in the public contributions and taxes, all pecuniary distinctions and privileges should cease. After the keeper had read this paper, the king again said, "I likewise now lay before you an account of the different benefits that I grant to my people; but I do not mean to circumscribe your zeal within the circle I have traced, as I will adopt with pleasure whatever may be proposed by you for the public welfare." He then ordered to be read to them what was called a *declaration of his intentions*, and which, with a few additions and alterations that most certainly would have been agreed to, might have served as the basis of an excellent constitution*. It contained all that the electors of the deputies had desired—But it came too late.—The lea-

* See Appendix, No. 11.

An author has observed, "Cette declaration, un peu modifiée, pouvoit devenir la grande chartre du peuple François, et sans doute qu'un mauvais roi ne l'auroit accordée qu'après avoir perdu des batailles."

ders of the commons now looked beyond
 the object they had first had in view, and, to
 keep the orders separate, might have en-
 tirely obstructed their projects. The king
 closed the *Seance* by saying, " You have
 " heard the result of my wishes ; they are
 " conformable to an ardent desire to pro-
 " mote the public good ; and if from any
 " fatality, and contrary to my hopes, you
 " should abandon me in so laudable an en-
 " terprise ; alone, I will consider myself to
 " be the true representative of my people ;
 " alone, I will seek their happiness ; and,
 " as I know the instructions you have re-
 " ceived, and the perfect accord that exists
 " in the views of the greatest part of the
 " nation and my intentions, I will have
 " all the confidence that so uncommon a
 " harmony ought to obtain, and go for-
 " ward to the object I would arrive at, with
 " the courage and firmness such confidence
 " should inspire. Reflect, gentlemen, that
 " none of your plans, none of your reso-
 " lutions,

“ lutions, can have the force of laws with-
“ out my special approbation. I am the
“ natural guarantee of your respective
“ rights, and the three orders of the state
“ may rely on my impartiality. Any mis-
“ trust on your part would manifestly be
“ doing me injustice. It is only I, as yet,
“ who have done every thing for the pub-
“ lic welfare; and it perhaps has seldom
“ happened, that the only ambition of a
“ sovereign should be to obtain of his sub-
“ jects to agree amongst themselves, in ac-
“ cepting the advantages he offers them.
“ I order you, gentlemen, to separate
“ immediately; to meet again to-morrow,
“ each order in its respective chamber, and
“ to recommence your proceedings. I order
“ the grand master of the ceremonies to
“ prepare your halls accordingly.”

As soon as the king was gone, the no-
bles followed, and all the clergy except a
few curates: but the members of the *tiers*
etat remained, though frequently called
on

on by the grand master to retire. Many seemed offended with the authoritative style of the discourses and declaration, and said that the deliberations of the representatives of the nation were to be free, not to be prescribed, nor had any one the right to interrupt or controul them. Before they quitted the hall, they confirmed all their former decrees; in the name of the National Assembly they declared the persons of its members to be inviolable, and that every individual, whether in a private or public station, any corporation, tribunal, court, or commission, who should dare, during or after the present sessions, to reproach, ill use, arrest, detain, or cause to be arrested or detained, the person or persons of any one or more of the deputies, for any motion, opinion, advice, or discourse, made or held in the assembly or any of its committees, should be regarded as infamous, and considered a traitor to his country. In the evening a great number of the deputies
went

went to compliment the minister of the finances, and, amongst these, many who were known to be inimical to him; but they were more averse to the court. A rumour prevailed that he had resigned. Being sent for by the king, and having taken the public way through the courts, he was met in his passage by immense crouds of people, who followed him with loud acclamations, which were redoubled, when, on his return, he informed them that he would remain in office. The mob, which for several weeks past had been accustomed to every species of licentiousness in Paris, were on this occasion extremely tumultuous at Versailles, and celebrated the joyful news, that had been communicated by the minister himself, with bonfires and huzzas, almost under the windows of the royal apartments. The resolutions, that had been taken by the *tiers état*, shewed the people that there was now a power which could brave the authority of the sovereign; it
was

was insinuated to them, that the declarations which had been made, were not sincere; and from one end of the kingdom to the other they spoke with enthusiasm of men, who, they imagined, had exposed themselves to the most imminent danger on their account.

On the 25th of June the deputies of the *tiers etat* were joined by forty-four members of the nobility and several ecclesiastics, but the superior clergy, except the prelates who had gone over on the 22d, and a great majority of the nobles, were resolved to remain separate. In consequence of this resistance, many anonymous letters were written to some of the principal members of the nobility and clergy, threatening to take away their lives, and burn their houses. Monsieur de Beaumont, archbishop of Paris, a prelate distinguished for his piety and benevolence, in returning from the assembly, narrowly escaped being murdered by persons who attacked his carriage.

riage. Since he had been elevated to the see of Paris he had regularly set aside a very considerable part of his revenue for charitable purposes; but not confining his benevolence to rules, in the winter of 1788-89, he had employed above ten thousand pounds of his private fortune to clothe and feed the poor. If we suppose the attempt that was now made on his life to have been an act of the people, without any hidden influence, we must suppose nature in them to be inverted;—the brute itself licks the hand that gives it nourishment;—and an opinion generally prevailed then, that it was the deed of ruffians who had been hired for the purpose*.

* This holy man (for such he may literally be called), even though he had joined the national assembly, was at last obliged to quit the kingdom, being constantly exposed to insult and danger. He was still thought to be attached to the rights and dignity of his order, and other ancient principles of the monarchy.

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On the 27th of June, the king, by the advice of his cabinet, wrote to the majority of the nobles and the minority of the clergy, to engage them to follow the example of those who had gone over on the 25th. His desire was complied with. The cardinal de la Rochefaucault in the name of the clergy, said, on entering the hall of the commons, "We are conducted
" hither by our love and respect for the king,
" by our desire of peace, and our zeal for the
" public welfare." The duke of Luxembourg, as president of the nobility, said,
" The order of the nobility resolved this
" morning to come to this hall, to give the
" king a proof of its respect, the nation
" of its patriotism."—Some of the nobles, however, withdrew from the states entirely; such compliance, they said, being incompatible with their duty to their order, to their country, and to their sovereign himself, who, they insisted, had been deceived. As many of the deputies of the
nobility

nobility as had received positive commands, from their constituents to maintain the orders separate, declared, in the way of protest, their inability to take any part in the resolutions of the assembly, without violating their oaths, unless the instructions they had voluntarily sworn to observe, should be rescinded. M. de Perigord, a young man lately made bishop of Aptun, made a motion to declare all imperative instructions void; but those deputies of the nobility refused to avail themselves of it, nor did they vote in the assembly until empowered by their constituents.

The *tiers état*, who could now command the resolutions of the assembly, had much to hope for and nothing to lose: yet, though it seems probable that a few persons had in secret projected schemes that have since been partly realised, the greatest number sought only conscientiously to fulfil the instructions they had received from those who sent them, and their conduct on

the 23d of June, in rejecting the proposals of the king, arose from their being persuaded, like the people, to mistrust his intentions, and to believe, that the *veto* of the nobles or clergy was still to be employed to defeat whatever might be disagreeable to the court, or unfavorable to their orders*. When we consider the real grievances the nation had to complain of, and the means that, it has been alledged, were employed

* A deputy of the nobility, and one of those who joined the deputies of the *tiers état* on the 25th of June, observes, "Sans doute il existoit un projet caché
" d'anéantir la noblesse et de renverser la monarchie;
" mais ce projet étoit encore loin d'oser eclorre; il se
" cachoit dans la profondeur du petit nombre d'ames
" qui l'avoient conçu. Le reste, meme au milieu des
" pretentions exagérées et des intrigues particulieres,
" n'avoit pas encore été atteint de ce système. On ne
" l'avoit encore ni trompé, ni séduit, ni intimidé. Il y
" a loin de ce qui se disoit et s'écrivoit alors, à ce qui
" s'est dit et s'est écrit depuis; et peu des principes
" ont été produits en dernier lieu, qui ne soient con-
" tredits par les principes que les communes même
" avoient anciennement arrêtés."

*Memoire de M. le Comte de Lally Tollendal,
Janvier 1790.*

to

to enflame the people against the government, the instructions to the deputies, even to those of the *tiers etat*, appear, in general, to be moderate and wise: they universally breathed that affection for the sovereign that had long characterised the nation, and left him in possession of as much power as any prince should wish to enjoy, who does not mean to be a tyrant. Hence, I believe, the impartial, even at this period will not hesitate to allow, that with a moderate degree of good conduct on the part of the court, the objects for which the States were assembled might have been accomplished without scarcely any other sacrifices from the crown, than those that had been tendered by the king himself: but nothing was attempted to gain the good-will and confidence of those who composed them, and the sudden efforts of authority were so ill contrived and awkwardly executed, that while they tended to rouse resentment and create distrust, they

they broke the magic spell, and proved to the world at large, that the coercive power was gone, and that a name was but a phantom.

After the abortive *seance* of the 23d of June, which had materially lessened the influence of the crown, and raised the importance of the commons, the states seem to have been entirely left without any interference from the court, unless we consider as such the king's message on the 27th, inviting the clergy and nobles to unite with the other order. From the time this union took place, the assembly presents to us the idea of an immense ship, with a numerous crew, tossed about upon the waves without any one to direct its course. We see it sometimes agitated by a variety of passions and interests, giving way to sudden impulses, passing resolutions full of important consequences in an instant*, and again spend-

* Witness those of the night of the 4th of August.

ing days and weeks on objects of the most trifling kind. Many will assure you, however, that this seemingly contradictory conduct was in reality the result of design. That those resolutions, which tended to destroy, or lessen the rights and privileges of the superior orders, to lower their importance, and to gratify the people, had been long intended, and were moved by the democratic party, as they found a fit occasion; that those of the opposite party were compelled to consent to them, or withdraw, to escape the fury of the mob, which was constantly at hand to enforce the opinions of their adversaries; and that whatever might contribute to establish order, was purposely delayed, that the people in the mean time might be prepared to approve, and measures be taken to execute, the schemes that were now projected.

In enquiring into the cause of the apparently supine and questionable conduct
of

of the minister, some will seriously tell you, that he was himself the principal promoter of the revolution, and had purposely adapted the measures of government to that end: but though this idea seems merely the ebullition of an inflamed imagination, we must allow, that he was eventually the cause of it, though perhaps without any such design. He seems to have apprehended that the reformatations he desired, and chiefly the reduction of the expence, and the equality of taxation, would be liable to be defeated by one or other of the superior orders; he mistrusted the support of the court; and hence he was induced to give a preponderance to the commons, and to suggest, when the states were opened, the necessity of their sometimes forming but one assembly and voting by numbers. Others say, that his refraining to employ his influence with the deputies, arose from his moral character. But ought he not to have considered, that in times of general

effervescence, when intrigue and private ambition may mislead a numerous assembly, it became the duty of a virtuous minister, to stand forward, and with his utmost influence to endeavour to prevent that violence that has been so injurious to the state, and ruinous to individuals? and would he not have deserved better of the nation, and have had more room for self-applause, had he boldly exerted himself, rather than peevishly complained of a waste of time, while he was a tame spectator of measures, which he seemed in private to condemn?

Though it seems evident that the motives which led him to compose the states in the manner he did, aimed only at an effectual reformation, not at the subversion of the government; it is impossible to consider his conduct after they were opened, without suspecting that it arose from the too high notion he entertained of the weight of his personal influence. He seems to have expected that his opinions would have been

been adopted with the same implicit submission, in the great body of the assembly, that he was accustomed to see them meet with in the circle by which he was surrounded. If such was his belief, he has fully experienced its vanity ; he soon saw his opinion silently neglected, and afterwards openly condemned*. One of the best of the French periodical writers has observed. “ Nature and education had
 “ formed him for business; while he was
 “ only fit to conduct the finances under
 “ a statesman, he had the ambition to
 “ rule ; the embarrassment of the govern-
 “ ment brought him to the situation he had

* “ L’assemblée nationale l’a contrarié en tout. Il
 “ a proposé une banque, elle a été rejetée ; des em-
 “ prunts, on n’en a pas voulu ; des nouvelles formes
 “ d’impôts, on ne l’a point écouté ; il a voulu former un
 “ conseil des finances avec des membres même de l’as-
 “ semblée nationale, mais ces hommes si entreprenans
 “ ont senti le piège et refusé le fardeau ; il propose
 “ enfin son départ, et ce moyen, qui a déjà bouleversé la
 “ France, est si nul aujourd’hui, que M. Neckar part
 “ en effet, et part sans qu’on s’en aperçoive.”

“ long sighed for; he wished to secure
“ himself against the fluctuating politics
“ of an intriguing court, and meaning only
“ to reform abuses, in the space of a few
“ months he overturned the kingdom.”

Paris, which has been raised and is supported by the vicinity of the court, not by industry and commerce, contains an immense number of persons, the refuse of France, and other countries, who, having no visible way of maintenance, seem to depend on chance, and are ready to be employed to any purpose *. They had hitherto been restrained by a vigilant and rigorous police, but this having greatly relaxed its former activity, those already in the city were encouraged to proceed to excesses, while their numbers were daily augmented by a variety of other vagabonds, that now flocked in from the provinces.

* The officers of the police calculated that there were about 50,000 persons who had no visible way of maintaining themselves.

Riots, occasioned by scarcity of bread and other causes, were become frequent and dangerous; the spirit of insurrection seemed to increase; it is alledged it was secretly encouraged; and, on a tumult at Versailles, the French guards having positively refused to act with vigour against the populace, the force, that in case of need could be brought to suppress disorders, would probably have been unequal to the task. Paris, as the metropolis of the kingdom, as the general place of residence of the nobility and principal persons attached to the court or employed in the finances, not only contains the royal treasury and other important establishments, but immense private property and the most valuable deeds and records that have any reference to the state. The preservation of the city from pillage or fire was the interest of all, and the indispensable duty of the government. For these ostensible reasons, therefore, the king ordered a body of

troops to be assembled in its neighbourhood. It was difficult to oppose any good objection to the measure; the disorders that reigned in the capital could not be denied; the danger of them was evident; but, when it was known that those troops were to form an army of above 30,000 men, with a numerous train of cannon and mortars, the National Assembly took alarm, and, on the 9th of July, presented an address to the king, in which they said, “Sire, we conjure you in the name of
“the nation, and for your own happiness
“and glory, to send back your troops to
“the posts from whence your counsellors
“have drawn them; to send back the artillery destined to cover your frontiers;
“and, above all, those foreign foldiers,
“paid to defend, and not to disturb us.” In his reply he told them, that they had themselves been witnesses of the shameful licentiousness that had long prevailed at Paris and at Versailles; that it was a principal

cipal duty with him to preserve the public tranquillity, to defend and enforce the laws, and to protect that freedom which they wished to preserve among themselves. He assured them that the troops had been called for those purposes only : that, however, if their necessary presence in the neighbourhood of Paris gave any uneasiness to the States, they might remove to Noyon or Soissons, in which case he should go to Compiègne, in order to keep up that immediate intercourse that ought to subsist between them.—The king's declaration of his motives was so positive, the proposal was so fair, and the facts were so unquestionable, that the Assembly seemed resolved to rely with confidence on his assurances, and to remain at Versailles. Indeed the alternative was embarrassing ; there was no reason to alledge against going to Noyon or Soissons ; it was evident that their deliberations would there be less liable to be influenced or disturbed than in the
neigh-

neighbourhood of Paris; and, by constant practice, the choice of the place, where the Assembly should be held, belonged entirely to the sovereign.

Though the Maréchal de Broglio seemed to have been forgotten by the court, yet the opinion that was universally entertained of his private virtues and military talents, pointed him out as the fittest person to be employed in so critical a conjuncture. He was accordingly called from his retirement by a letter from the king, and appointed to command the army, with the title of generalissimo. It was imagined that the troops would be flattered, in again seeing at their head a veteran who had acquired so much merited reputation, when opposed to one of the ablest captains of the age. But the circumstances, in which he was now to act, were entirely different. Then, his courage and military skill were sufficient to carry him through every difficulty. Now, instead of a warrior who fought on the field

field of honour, he had to encounter the prejudices of his countrymen; and, if we believe the assertions of many of them, he was to be ensnared by intrigue, and defeated by corruption. He seems then to have neglected the only danger that awaited him, the defection of his soldiers; and probably, from a consciousness of his own principles, he did not sufficiently suspect theirs.

The troops came by detachments, and were sent as they arrived into the villages about Paris, and some into the town itself. The consequences, that might be expected from this disposition, must at once have struck even the least attentive observer of the scenes that had lately passed there. Whether the ^{soldiers} ~~troops~~ had imbibed that enthusiasm of liberty, which has since appeared in every corps; or whether, as some have said, money and promises were employed to debauch them;—desertion became general; and those, who found means
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to

to quit their quarters, were brought in triumph to the *Palais Royal* to be feasted, and to hear the orations that were pronounced there. But had a camp been marked out in some situation equally calculated to cover Paris and Versailles, the troops might have entered it as they arrived ; all improper intercourse would have been prevented ; the spirit of discipline would have been revived ; and military manœuvres, and the appearance of the monarch, would have awakened those sentiments of loyalty and love of glory, that are congenial with the profession of arms. Had such a plan been adopted, it can scarcely be doubted, that, without having occasion to draw the sword, the disorders that quickly followed would have been prevented. But, when we see a general of so established a reputation commit an error, obvious to every bystander,—when we observe the misconduct of the court and the numberless blunders of its agents,—we are at a loss how to account for

for such errors by human reasoning, and are tempted to believe they were means in the hand of Providence to bring about the events which have taken place.

The conduct of the first minister of the finances had long been the subject of animadversion with those who chiefly approached the sovereign. The manner in which the States were composed, his behaviour at the *Seance Royal*, and a variety of other circumstances, were pointed out as sure indications, that he was secretly connected with, and encouraged the pretensions of, the democratic party. After being tormented with many doubts and a variety of advice, the king was at last prevailed on to dismiss him; and, on the 11th of July, about two in the afternoon, he sent him a letter, written in his own hand, to acquaint him, that the situation of public affairs made it necessary that he should resign his place and quit the kingdom. M. de la Luzerne, minister of the marine, who

who carried the letter, informed him, that it was the king's desire that the order, he then delivered to him, should be kept secret, which was strictly complied with. Mr. Necker dined with a large company, and afterwards received many visits. In the evening, under pretence of taking an airing with his wife, he went to his country-house at Saint Ouin, near Paris, nor was his departure known there till the 12th, when he was considerably advanced on his way to Brussels. A periodical writer has observed, that his dismissal at that time was just as impolitic, as if the King of Naples, in the midst of some fanatic insurrection, were to order the sacred vial of Saint Januarius to be contemptuously thrown into the sea. But, besides popular favour, Mr. Necker enjoyed the confidence of the public creditors, among whom is a great number of persons of every class, who depend on their annuities for their maintenance. Their apprehensions of a national bankruptcy

ruptcy were now revived, and, from this moment, we may consider the monied interest of the kingdom as most decidedly and actively opposed to the measures of the court. The opportunity, which it now presented, was eagerly embraced. A thousand mouths were instantly opened to spread the news, and to cry, that the public payments were to be stopped; the assembly to be dissolved; that the army had been sent for on that account; and that, as the virtue of the minister was inflexible, he had not only been dismissed from the council, but sent ignominiously out of the kingdom. The consternation was universal; and, in every society and place of public resort, nothing was heard but the clamours of those, who, in the supposed impending ruin, saw a prospect of penury for the rest of their days.

The people now began to meet in crowds in different quarters of the city. In the afternoon, the busts of the duke of Orleans

and of Mr. Necker were carried, wrapped round with black crape, in procession through the streets. The heterogeneous coalition of two persons, who never had been associated in politics or otherwise, was not attended to ; they were said to be victims to the cause of the people ; it was reported, that his highness and some other popular members of the assembly had been arrested ; and, to mark the sentiments of the public on these imaginary calamities, deputations from the crowd assembled at the *Palais Royal*, were sent to the different theatres, with orders, that they should be shut.

In consequence of these tumults, detachments from the regiments of Choiseul dragoons and royal Cravate cavalry, that were quartered in the town, patrolled through the streets, and a strong body of the Swiss guards was posted with cannon in the Champs Elisées. In the evening, about five o'clock, a skirmish happened between the

the people, in the *Place Louis XV*, and a party of the dragoons. A patrol of the royal Allemande cavalry, that were quartered at La Muette*, commanded by the Prince of Lambesc, coming up at the same time, charged the crowd, and drove them into the garden of the Thuilleries. When it began to grow dark, the people set fire to some of the wooden barriers at the entrances of the town, and drove away the persons stationed there to collect the customs. A party of the royal Allemande cavalry, that had been dispatched to disperse the mob, that were burning the barrier at the end of the street *Chaussée d'Antin*, in coming from thence upon the *Boulevard*, was fired upon by a party of the French guards, at the corner of that street, from what is called their *depôt*. Though their alienation from the court had been long suspected, this

* A royal palace, in the *Bois de Boulogne*, about two miles from Paris.

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was

was their first act of open hostility; but almost all of them were now under arms in their barracks; they would not any longer obey their officers, but desired them to withdraw. In every quarter of the town resounded the cry *to arms and down with the officers and foreign troops*. During the night, detachments of the French guards, mixed with the citizens, patroled through the streets. In the morning of Monday, the 13th, the alarm-bell * was rung in all the steeples. For the purpose of electing representatives in the states, Paris had been divided into sixty *districts*; and, at the sound of the bell, the electors assembled at the places where they had lately met. From the electors of the districts, a general assembly was now formed that met at the Town-house; and, out of that, a *permanent committee* was chosen, that was intrusted with the execu-

* *Tocsin.*

tive power. Monsieur de Fleselles, the *prévot des marchands*, being the principal municipal magistrate, was nominated president of this committee, and a correspondence was established with committees, that sat in the different districts. The first step taken was to embody a militia of 48,000 men; and many officers and serjeants, who had retired from the army, or were at Paris on leave, having offered their services, were distributed to instruct it. The first motive for arming was the preservation of the town from pillage; but it was soon extended to its defence against the army in case it should attempt to enter.

Many excesses were committed in the morning of the 13th; but, in course as the militia was armed, patrols were every where distributed, and the licentious restrained. The French guards, now called *soldats de la patrie*, were mixed with the militia. Some companies had at first shewn a reluctance; but all now joined, except

the usual guard at the palace of Versailles, that was still on duty there to protect their sovereign.

The count de Montmorin, minister of foreign affairs, Monsieur de la Luzerne, minister of the marine, and Monsieur de Saint Priest, a member of the council, but without office, had retired at the same time with the director general of the finances, having been all dismissed except Monsieur de la Luzerne. Monsieur de Puysegur quitted the place of minister of war to make way for the maréchal de Broglie, the baron de Breteuil was appointed president of the council of finances, the Duke de la Vauguyon succeeded Monsieur de Montmorin, Monsieur de Villedeuil continued in his place of minister of Paris, and Monsieur Barentin remained keeper of the seals. — Monsieur Foulon was offered a post under the maréchal de Broglie in the war-office, but he declined accepting of it.

On

On the 13th, the Assembly of the States sent an address to the king to represent to him the alarming situation of the capital, the dismay which the measures lately taken had produced there, to request that the troops might be withdrawn from its neighbourhood, and, not seeming to be acquainted with what had been done by the Parisians, proposing that a militia should be immediately formed. They, at the same time, offered to send a deputation to the town to communicate the answer they hoped to receive, and to endeavour, by quieting the fears of the people, to restore the public tranquillity. In reply to this address, the king said; he had already communicated his motives for taking the measures they alluded to; that it was he only who could judge of their necessity, which, as it still existed, did not permit any change: that he was very far from entertaining any doubt of the purity of their intentions in the present afflicting circum-

stances, but that their presence at Paris could be of no utility, while it was much wanted where they were, in order to proceed with the important business they were engaged in. This answer seemed by no means to satisfy the assembly, and they immediately resolved :

“ That the national assembly, being the
“ medium by which the sentiments of the
“ nation are conveyed, declares that Mr.
“ Necker and the other ministers who
“ have just been removed, carry with
“ them its esteem and regret.

“ That, alarmed by the prospect of the
“ fatal consequences which the answer of
“ his majesty may produce, the assembly
“ will not cease to insist on his sending
“ away the troops that are collected about
“ Paris and Versailles, and on establishing
“ guards of citizens.

“ That there cannot exist any interme-
“ diate person or power between the king
“ and the assembly.

“ That

“ That the ministers and other agents of
 “ authority, civil and military, are an-
 “ swerable for every thing they may do
 “ that is contrary to the rights of the
 “ nation and the decrees of the assembly.

“ That the ministers and counsellors of
 “ his majesty, of whatever description or
 “ rank they may be, are personally re-
 “ sponsible for the present calamities, and
 “ the consequences that may result from
 “ them.

“ That the public debt having been
 “ placed under the safeguard of the faith
 “ and honour of the French nation, and
 “ the nation being willing to pay the
 “ interest of that debt, no power has a
 “ right to pronounce the *infamous word*
 “ *bankruptcy*, under any form or deno-
 “ mination whatsoever.

“ That the assembly persists in all its
 “ former decrees, and expressly in those
 “ of the 17th, 20th, and 23d* of the

* See pages 129, 131, 132.

“ month of June; and orders, that a copy
“ of the present resolutions be delivered
“ to his majesty by its president; that a
“ copy be sent to Mr. Necker and the
“ other ministers who have been removed;
“ and that they be printed and published.”

By these resolutions, the three orders, united, confirmed all those important decrees that had been made by the *tiers état* while they were asunder; the counsellors of the king were made responsible for the measures of the government; the people were more than ever impressed with the idea, that an intention had been formed to suspend or reduce the public payments, and were taught to consider the assembly as the only safeguard against a calamity they so much feared.

On the 13th, the people began to wear a cockade of green and white; but having recollected that green was the colour that distinguished the household of the count d'Artois,

d'Artois, it was changed for blue, white, and red. It was worn by all as a mark of their love of liberty, and those who neglected to do so were liable to be insulted, whatever might be their rank or character. In the night, the troops that had been stationed in the *Champs Elisées* were withdrawn, and in the morning of the 14th, a body of the militia, followed by a crowd of people, went and seized the cannon and about 30,000 stand of arms at the hotel of the invalids. They had already rifled the king's *garde meubles*, in the *Place Louis XV*, of many ancient and curious arms that were kept there; and among others of those once worn by their favourite prince Henry IV, whose breastplate and helmet bore the marks of his courage and of the danger to which he had been exposed. In the afternoon the Bastile was surrendered *, and the governor

* See Appendix, No. XII.

Mr. de Launay, and other officers, were put to death.

Monfieur de Fleffelles, the *prévoit des marchands*, had been fufpected of being partial to the court. His fituation was delicate; he occupied a place which he owed to his fovereign, and at the fame time filled a truft that had been committed to him by his fellow-citizens who had taken arms to oppofe the royal authority. He ought, therefore, either to have quitted his office, or acted openly and confcientioufly with his colleagues. But, like many others in difficult circumftances, he was perhaps unable to determine. It was faid that a letter written by him had been found in the pocket of Mr. de Launay, recommending to him to defend the Baftile, and affuring him he would be relieved. I prefume, however, that he muft have fatisfied the committee on this head, otherwife they would probably have arrefted him. The populace, how-

however, were not contented, and as he was coming from the town-house, in crossing the *Place de Greve*, he was shot through the head with a pistol. His head was cut off, and with that of Mr. de Launay was put up in the palais royal, while their bodies were dragged about the streets, and exposed to the barbarous outrages of a frantic multitude.

Preparations for defence were now made with judgment and assiduity; and numbers of persons were constantly presenting themselves to be enrolled in the militia.

The news of those events greatly alarmed the court and ministers at Versailles. The national assembly, after much and eager debate, and a variety of motions, came unanimously to the following resolutions :

“ The national assembly thinks that the
 “ public tranquility, may be restored and
 “ preserved, by regularly forming and
 “ keeping up the militia that has been
 “ raised in the capital.—It resolves, that
 “ the

“ the king be again conjured to withdraw
“ his troops, the presence of which has
“ been the principal cause of the disorders
“ that now prevail, and which by shewing
“ the contrast of a military force that
“ alarms, with a civil power that protects,
“ puts in opposition the privileges of
“ authority with the rights of the citizen *.
“ It directs that the deputies lately sent to
“ the king, go back, and employ the most
“ pressing instances with his majesty, to
“ engage him to send away his troops.”

The deputation accordingly went, and after a considerable absence, during which the assembly was in great anxiety, the archbishop of Vienne, their president, who was at the head of the deputation, returned at nine in the evening with the following answer :

* I have thought it my duty to render into English, as literally as possible, the language of the national assembly; but I fear in doing so, the meaning may not always be immediately comprehended by an English reader.

“I am without intermission employed
 “about means to restore tranquillity in the
 “capital. I had ordered the *prévot des*
 “*marchands* to come here to take mea-
 “sures for that purpose. Having since
 “been informed that a militia has been
 “established there, I have given orders
 “to general officers to put themselves at
 “the head of that militia, to assist it with
 “their experience, and second the zeal
 “of the good citizens. I have likewise
 “given order that the troops in the *Champ*
 “*de Mars* withdraw from Paris. The
 “concern you express at the disorders
 “that reign there, is a sentiment that
 “should be in the heart of every one, and
 “most seriously afflicts mine.”

While this deputation was with the king,
 another arrived at the assembly from *the*
permanent committee at the hotel de ville, to
 represent the state of the town, and to
 desire, in the present crisis, the establish-
 ment of a correspondence between the
 committee

committee and the assembly. One of the members of the assembly, the baron de Vens, who came from Paris about the same time, gave an affecting description of the scene he had just quitted. He had been seized by the people, and hurried to the town-house; in conducting him thither, they shewed him the mangled bodies of Monsieur de Launay and de Fleffelles, and often threatened him with the same fate. The assembly resolved to communicate the information they had received to his majesty, by another deputation of their members, headed by the archbishop of Paris. He returned about eleven at night; he said, his majesty had instantly admitted him; that he found with him his brothers; that he seemed extremely affected on hearing what he had been ordered to communicate, and replied, " You afflict me more and more by the
" account you have given me of the calami-
" ties that have happened in Paris; it is
" impossible, they could have been occasi-
" oned

“ oned by the orders given to my troops
 “ —I have nothing to add to the messages
 “ I have already sent to the assembly.”

It was now discovered by Monsieur de Broglio, that many of the troops had become disaffected to the cause in which they were employed, and numbers deserted daily into the town. At two in the morning of the 15th, those encamped in the *Champ de Mars* were withdrawn. In the afternoon the king came to the assembly accompanied by his brothers, but without pomp or ministers, and pronounced the following discourse :

“ I called you together, to consult you
 “ on matters of the utmost importance to
 “ the state, and none merits that title, more
 “ than the dreadful disorders that reign
 “ in the capital—None so much affect me ;
 “ and the chief of the nation comes with
 “ confidence among its representatives, to
 “ shew them his affliction, and to invite
 “ them to seek means to restore order and
 “ tranquillity.

“ I know that unjust insinuations have
“ industriously been spread abroad ; I know
“ that some have dared to publish that your
“ persons ^{are} ~~were~~ in danger—Is it necessary
“ that I should disavow rumours so crimi-
“ nal, and which I hope are sufficiently
“ contradicted by my character, which
“ you so well know.

“ I then, who am one with my nation,
“ unite myself with you, and desire you to
“ assist me in taking measures for the safety
“ of the state. I expect this from the *na-*
“ *tional assembly* *. The zeal of the re-
“ presentatives of my people, called together
“ for the public welfare, assures me of it;
“ and, relying on the love and fidelity of
“ my subjects, I have given orders for the
“ troops to retire from Paris and Versailles.
“ I authorise, nay I invite you, to make my
“ intentions known in the capital.”

* This is the first time it was so named by him ; hi-
therto he had constantly said the states general.

This

This discourse was received with the loudest acclamations, and the king may be said to have been conducted back to his palace in the arms of the assembly, who in a body accompanied him.

A deputation of eighty members, headed by Monsieur de la Fayette, was sent to communicate the king's discourse, to the general assembly of the electors at Paris. Monsieur de la Fayette, after reading the discourse, made a speech, in which he said, that the king had been deceived, but being no longer so, they might now rely on his paternal goodness. M. de Lally followed him and finished his discourse, by saying, *vive la nation ! vive le roi ! vive la liberté.* A reply was made by their president. He informed Monsieur de la Fayette, that he had that day been unanimously chosen by the assembly of the electors of Paris, to command the Parisian militia; and Monsieur Bailly, who had distinguished

N

himself

himself as president of the *tiers état*, while the orders were separate, was at the same time acquainted that he had been chosen *prévot des marchands*, a title which has since been changed for that of mayor.

On the 16th, the president of the national assembly read a letter from the *maréchal de Broglie*, apprising him that he had been commanded by his majesty to withdraw the troops from the neighbourhood of Paris and Versailles, and to send them back to their respective garrisons.

In his speech to the national assembly on the 15th, the king had not in vain asked advice. It was now resolved, to present an address to him, recommending to his majesty, to dismiss his present ministers and counsellors, and to recall Mr. Neckar, and those who had lately been removed.

On the same day, all the new ministers resigned their places; and the duke de Chatelet delivered up the command
of

of the French guards, a corps indeed, which no longer existed.

The committee at the town-house of Paris, having sent a deputation to the king, to express that it was the general wish of the inhabitants, that he should honour the city with his presence, he sent a message to the national assembly, acquainting them, that he should go to Paris the next day. He soon afterwards sent a second message to inform them, he had written to Mr. Neckar to return and resume his place. A deputation was thereupon sent to thank the king: as it was retiring, he called the president back, and said; "As a proof of
" my sentiments on the good intelligence
" that should subsist between me and the
" assembly, here is the letter that I have
" written to Mr. Neckar, which I intrust
" to you, to dispatch to him."

The power and violence of the mob were now risen to so great a height, that it became dangerous to those who were known

to be of sentiments opposite to the popular party, to remain within its reach. The count d'Artois withdrew secretly in the night, and went to Bruffels, whither he had already sent his sons, the dukes of Angoulême and Berry. The prince of Condé with his son and grandson, the dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, and the prince of Conti, retired thither about the same time. The count d'Artois, and the princes of Condé and Conti, had, in the assembly of *notables*, opposed giving a double representation to the *tiers état*, and had on all occasions professed their attachment to the ancient principles of the monarchy. Those who bore them any enmity, or who thought their presence might obstruct their views, were industrious to inflame the popular prejudices, and to ascribe to them a variety of sayings, and counsels, hostile to the opinions that now prevailed. Bills had been put up in the palais royal, recommending their destruction, and even offering

fering a price for their heads. In these bloody proscriptions were to be seen the names of the ministers who had just resigned, and of a number of persons of both sexes, who had become obnoxious to the people, by having been favourites with the court. In their flight, they were under the necessity of disguising themselves till they gained the frontier. The news of what had happened at Paris spread with wonderful celerity; the messengers of these tidings called on the people to take arms; and, announcing that the guilty were endeavouring to escape, travellers, for months afterwards, were liable to be arrested and detained at every town throughout the kingdom, unless furnished with a passport from the *permanent committee* in the capital.

Symptoms of the quick decline of setting monarchy were now abundantly perceived. On the night of the 16th a universal gloom reigned throughout the immense palace of

Verfailles. Not a minifter remained : and all the princes with their attendants were gone, except Monsieur, the king's brother. The rooms were no longer filled with pref-
fing courtiers : alarmed at what had hap-
pened, and doubtful of what was to suc-
ceed, they had withdrawn, and but few were
to be found, except thofe who were imme-
diately on fervice. In the courfe of the
late changes it has been remarked, that
fome of thofe who had been accuftomed to
bask in the funfhine of royalty, whose fa-
milies had rifen to opulence by the boun-
ties of the fovereign, were the firft to de-
fert his caufe.

The king was to go to Paris on the 17th
in the morning ; and however much he
merited the affections of his fubjects, anxi-
ety was infeparable from the idea that he
was to pafs through a multitude in arms,
moft of whom were unacquainted with the
management of them ; many, in a ftate of
popular delirium ; and fome yet ftained
with

with the blood which it had madly led them to spill.

The national assembly appointed a deputation to accompany him. He left his palace, about ten in the morning, without parade, without his usual guards, and surrounded by a body of armed inhabitants of Versailles on foot, who had insisted upon attending him. When this motley, but solemn, procession set out, many of the ancient servants of the court, who never had seen their master visit his capital but surrounded with the splendour of the throne and amidst the acclamations of his people, burst into a flood of tears. About a league from the city, he was met by a large detachment of Parisian militia, where the people that came from Versailles, and a few body guards who had followed the king, were desired to remain. The inhabitants of Versailles demanded hostages from the Parisians, as securities for his return; but the measure was absurd, and the

idea improper. He was still obliged to go a very slow pace, as many of this militia, like that of Versailles, were on foot. From the barrier to the Town-house the whole way was filled with people, and lined on each side by men in arms; it is said, that, on this occasion, about 100,000 bore firelocks. On some part of his passage he saw the cannon that had been taken at the Bastile and at the Hotel of the Invalids; and about his coach were the soldiers, who, a few days before, enjoyed the distinction of being his guards. Throughout the immense crowd reigned a profound silence; the usual exclamation of *Vive le roi!* with which the air at other times would have resounded, had been prohibited or was forgotten. The accidents, that had been apprehended, were now experienced; muskets were heard to go off; several persons were wounded, and a young woman of decent family, and mother of several children, was shot near the carriage of the king.

king. He arrived at the Town-house about half past four in the afternoon, having been above six hours in performing a journey which may be done in little more than one. When he was seated, the mayor, Monsieur Bailly, according to custom presented to him the keys of the town, pronouncing a speech which he began with these words: " J'apporte à votre
 " majesté les clefs de sa bonne ville de Pa-
 " ris: ce sont les mêmes qui ont été pré-
 " sentées à Henry IV; il avoit *reconquis*
 " son peuple; ici c'est le peuple qui a *re-*
 " *conquis* son roi*." He afterwards offered him a national cockade, which the king put into his hat, and said with a loud voice; " My people may always confide

* The speech made by Monsieur Bailly has been much criticised. *Reconquerir* is, strictly speaking, to *reconquer*, *conquer again*; but, in this sense, it could not be applied. Henry the fourth had not *reconquered* Paris, nor had the people before conquered the king. Mr. Bailly certainly meant, and could only mean, *regained*.

"in my love for them." He heard several other speeches. Every one, who thought he spoke well, wished to say something *. He approved of the nomination of M. de la Fayette to be commander of the Parisian militia, and of M. Bailly to be mayor; the former was his servant, and his consent for the appointment of the other was not yet thought needless. He shewed himself for sometime at a window over the *Place de Grève*.—*Vive le roi! vive la nation!* was now proclaimed by innumerable voices; and, having expressed his desire to return, he arrived at Versailles about eight in the evening.

* Monsieur de Lally-Tollendal, one of the deputies of the national assembly who accompanied the king, in a discourse, complimentary to the sentiments of the sovereign and flattering to the people, having several times made use of the expression, *Le voilà ce roi!* gave occasion to a writer to observe; "*Le voilà, crioit-il, le voilà, ce roi! et il continua sur ce ton une longue paraphrase de l'Ecce Homo; car les mêmes circonstances amènent les mêmes expressions.*"

The powers, which had hitherto been exercised in the city by the servants of the government, were now assumed by the mayor and assembly at the Town-house. The master of the post-office took an oath of fidelity to the nation before the mayor, and the *Hotel de la Police* was changed into the *Hotel de la Mayerie*. The allowances to the mayor and other officers, the expences of the militia, of the police, and all other public disbursements in Paris, were to be defrayed from the revenue; but for the extraordinary charges, incurred for the defence of the town, contributions were demanded from the inhabitants, according to their means and their zeal for the public cause. The barriers that had been destroyed were re-established; the officers of the customs were again placed at them; patrols marched constantly through the streets; and, besides the usual mode of lighting them, the inhabitants were obliged to illuminate their houses at a certain hour;

so

so that Paris, for many weeks after the revolution, exhibited every night the appearance of some extraordinary public rejoicing. But notwithstanding these precautions, it was soon sadly experienced, that whenever the people bent their minds upon, or were excited to any act of violence, there existed no regular force by which they could be restrained; and that even those, who had been raised by their power, might easily become the victims of their caprice.

The murder of M. de Launay, and the other officers of the Bastile; and of de Flesselles, Foulon*, and Berthier, were the early

* It has been already observed that Mr. de Foulon had been nominated to a post under the maréchal de Broglie, but had declined it. He was above seventy-four years of age. Hearing that he was menaced, he had gone to the house of his friend, M. de Sartine, a few leagues from Paris. He was there seized in the night of the 22d of July, dragged from thence on foot; brought to the town-house, where he saw the mayor, the assembly of the electors, and the commander

early symptoms of that frantic vengeance, that has not yet been extinguished. The demolition of the Bastile itself, by a formal resolution, seems to have been an ebullition of that destroying spirit that has levelled all the orders of the ancient monarchy. It was like the anger of an ill-brought-up boy, who beats the floor, when by his own awkwardness he has fallen; with this difference, the one is an impulse of passion in a child, the other was the result of deliberation in men. The Bastile had been erected under different reigns at an im-

mander of the militia, and demanded their protection; but in retiring, he was seized by the mob, and murdered with circumstances of such atrocious barbarity, in which the women took a principal part, as would be painful, and indeed indecent to relate. His son-in-law, Mr. Berthier, intendant of Paris, was on the same day brought in from Compiègne; that the people might see him, the upper part of his carriage was cut off; on coming into the city, he was met by a procession of furies and ruffians carrying the head of his father-in-law, which they forced him to embrace; and in a few hours he suffered the same fate.

See the second note in Appendix, No. XII.

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menſe expence; it had ſtood above four hundred years, through all the viciffitudes of tempeſtuous times; it ſeemed calculated to brave the effects of age, and might have been of great utility in a city, perhaps worſe provided with priſons and hoſpitals than any other great town in Europe.

Throughout the whole kingdom of France, even the moſt inconfiderable town followed the example of Paris; every one had its *Hôtel de Ville*, its *Comité*, and its *Milice Bourgeoiſe*. So far there was an appearance of ſyſtem, and if properly conducted, theſe regulations might have produced a certain degree of order. But in conſequence of ſome haſty decrees of the national aſſembly*, that were iſſued without being ſufficiently explained and modified, the peaſants and loweſt claſſes of the people took arms, and their deſtroyations

* Such as were moved and agreed to on the night of the 4th of Auguſt, annulling the rights of the chace, prohibiting rabbit warrens, &c. &c.

have been attended with a degree of barbarity, equal to any thing that has been exhibited in the metropolis.

But the further history of these events must be referred to a more tranquil moment. In speaking with men of the *aristocratic party* you will hear: That, among those nobles, who, by joining in the measures of the *tiers etat*, contributed to overturn the monarchy and themselves, there were some, whom envy against those in power and a desire to supplant them; resentment against the court for injuries received, or the neglect of pretended deserts; and the hope of obtaining from fear what they could not procure by favor, induced to adopt the line of conduct which they have since pursued: and that *all* of them were deceived by their dependants, and by the persuasions of artful men, who flattered them with the idea that they would be able to gain an ascendancy over the commons, and to

direct their resolves: that having gone too far to recede, and some of them having secrets to preserve, they were afterwards compelled to join in what they disapproved, but were unable to prevent.—You are told, that the commons were led by a few men of abilities, but desperate fortunes, who having no fixed principles, only sought to advance themselves in scenes of tumult: and that the *tiers etat*, in general, were actuated by motives of ambition and self-interest, and a desire of reducing those, who by their birth were placed above them, to a state of equality with themselves: that the government only required to be reformed, not to be destroyed;—that the sovereign had offered to join in correcting all the abuses that were complained of, whether in the administration, or in the laws:—that the nobles had declared their willingness to bear their share in the public burthens in the same manner and proportions as the members of the *tiers etat*,
and

and that had any of them, or of the clergy, refused to do so, or insisted on preserving privileges that were contrary to the spirit of justice or the welfare of the state, it was evident they would have been over-ruled by a majority, and opposed by the king himself. That, as these changes could have been effected without bloodshed, without disorder, without any loss in the public revenue,—to the authors of the revolution, therefore, must be ascribed all the horrors that have marked its progress. They accuse them of having wantonly armed about two millions of men, over whom there is no controul, of having encouraged the people to attack the lives and destroy the property of those who were of different sentiments from themselves; to trample on the laws; to rob the altars, to despise the priesthood, to pollute the temples of their God, to violate the majesty of their sovereign, and stain his palace with the blood of those

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whose

whose duty required, and whose honour impelled them to defend it. They observe that they have changed a monarchy, tempered by established usages and laws, and under which the nation had risen to its present grandeur, for anarchy and despotism. That every municipality throughout the kingdom arrests or protects whom it pleases; that the committees of enquiry* established in the capital, are more destructive of liberty, and more hurtful to morality, than any thing that had ever been practised, even under the most despotic reigns: that from the hope of reward, the most innocent is liable to be accused of *lèse nation*,—a crime that has not yet been defined, to be arrested, and perhaps con-

* Secret committees of enquiry were established, called *Comités des Recherches*, and a reward of a thousand Louis d'ors offered to such as may give information against any one who does or attempts any thing against the principles of the present revolution, or to bring about another change, or, as it has been denominated, a *contre révolution*.

demped;

demned; and that these committees are inquisitions, with a milder name, but fully as terrible in their effects.

Those of the democratic party deny most of these assertions, and affirm, that in all they have done, they were guided only by their duty to those who had committed their interests to their care, and by that innate love of liberty, that birthright of mankind, of which they had been unjustly deprived; that they did not rise against powers regularly constituted, but against an authority that had been gradually usurped. They say, that the representatives of the nation were called upon by the sovereign to restore the finances; and that their constituents, in electing them, had demanded the reformation of abuses, and a government regularly ascertained. They confess, they neither planned nor foresaw the revolution; that it was brought on by degrees; and that the opportunity having presented itself, they think they would

have merited the scorn of their own and future times had they neglected to embrace it.—They say that having passed the Rubicon, they were under the necessity of going forward, and in the mean time, of rendering an authority ineffectual, that might yet have destroyed all they had done; but that in doing so, while they established the freedom of their country, they probably saved it from a civil war: that the partial reformatations that were proposed by the other party, would always have been imperfect, and must at last have ended in a total change: that posterity therefore, has to thank them for having effected at once what must have been the labour of ages to accomplish; and that it was necessary to eradicate the ancient foundations, on which nothing solid could be raised.—While they lament the misfortunes that have happened to individuals, and the disorders that yet prevail, they observe that some are almost inseparable from such great political

political convulsions, but that many are to be ascribed to those of the *aristocratic party* themselves; that had they candidly concurred with them in forming the constitution, tranquillity would have been long since restored, perhaps scarcely disturbed; but that while they obstinately remained attached to their ancient prejudices, it was impossible to complete the work, or to fix the proper limits and restore the exercise of the executive power. That having at once to combat the power of the court, the clergy, the nobles, and the parliaments, they were obliged to call the people to their aid, and by explaining their rights to them make them jealous of their liberty. They profess as much loyalty and respect for their sovereign, as the other party can pretend to, and an earnest wish to arrive at that period when they may be able to prove the sincerity of those sentiments, by investing him with all the splendour suitable to the dignity of the throne, and with

as much power as may be consistent with the freedom and welfare of the people.

They say, that the influence and immense possessions of the clergy, acquired by them in fanatic ages, were now incompatible with the safety of the constitution, and the exigencies of the state; that the nation oppressed with public burthens, and unable to fulfil its engagements, had a right to resume that wealth which had been lavished by superstition to promote indolence; that men, though not more immoral, are become less bigotted, and know how to distinguish between veneration for religion, and an improper respect for its ministers; that the true character of these is simplicity of manners, modesty, kindness, and charity, from which if they depart and busy themselves in worldly affairs, they depart from the maxims and example of Christ himself. While they propose to abolish pernicious or useless institutions, to suppress dangerous power, and discourage improper luxury,
they

they declare their resolution to provide against indigence, and to furnish means to all to live with becoming ease and decency.

They say that the necessity of reforming the laws was so conspicuously evident, that it was the only point almost, on which all the three orders seemed to agree: that while the parliaments remained, it was impossible a thorough reformation should take place; that besides the vices that existed in them as courts of justice, they might, by opposing, obstruct the most salutary public measures; that established throughout the kingdom, and constantly united in their interests, they had in a series of years, by their wealth, their possessions, their dependants, and the need of their protection, acquired a degree of influence, which had often seriously alarmed the monarchy, when in the plenitude of its power*. They observe, that liberty
and

* One of their writers has said; "Un gouvernement peut être arbitraire et corrompu, et n'être pas fan-

and wholesome laws must in the end produce prosperity; that the fertility of the soil,

“ guinaire, et il est vrai que le nôtre ne l'étoit pas.
“ Les grandes atrocités, les grandes barbaries, n'ont
“ guère été commises que par les Tribunaux, et le
“ supplice de la Barre et de Calas, ne fut pas le crime
“ du ministère. Celui ci est toujours plus ou moins
“ tempéré par les mœurs publiques; le despotisme judiciaire ne l'est jamais; il tient à ses formes comme
“ à son orgueil et à ses prétentions. L'amour propre
“ d'un homme en place peut l'adoucir, s'il est sensible
“ à l'opinion; l'orgueil parlementaire s'indigne contre
“ elle, et ne peut, ni concevoir, ni souffrir, qu'il existe
“ au monde une puissance qui ose contrôler la sienne.
“ Enfin le ministre peut consulter sa conscience; les
“ compagnies n'en peuvent pas avoir; celle des individus est étouffée par l'esprit de corps; cet esprit est
“ incurable; les remords n'en sauraient approcher, par
“ ce que nul n'est chargé de rougir pour tous; et
“ que tout ce qui se fait étant censé l'ouvrage de tous,
“ en dernier résultat personne ne répond de rien.

“ Leurs cachots n'étoient ils pas des Bastilles, et
“ leurs procédures une inquisition? François, un
“ bon citoyen ne doit pas perdre une seule occasion de
“ vous dire, *Ayez des loix et point de parlemens, et vous
“ serez libres.* Souvenez vous bien qu'un des principes
“ fondamentaux de la liberté Angloise ce de ne souffrir
“ jamais aucun corps de magistrature. Montesquieu
“ lui même avoue, et il n'étoit pas suspect, que *leur
“ puissance est terrible.* J'y reviendrai encore; le cri de
“ tout

soil, and the position of the kingdom, affording so many advantages to commerce, are the same, though the form of government may be changed; that industry is only suspended, but will renew its labours, with an activity and vigour to which the people have yet been strangers; and that it only remains to get over that interval of crisis, which separates the vicious system they have abolished, from the excellent constitution which will be established in its stead.

Such, in general, is the language even of the most moderate of the two parties. The one seems to be constantly thinking on what it has lost; the other on what it suffered; but both ought now to be persuaded that the ancient system is at an end, and cannot possibly be restored.

In considering the revolution impartially, the comparison will not lie between what France now is, or hereafter may

“ tout bon François contre les parlemens, jusqu'à leur
 “ entière destruction, doit etre, *Delenda est Carthago.*”

be,

be, and France under its late government; but we must consider what it would now have been, or might have shortly become, on the principles of the reform proposed by the sovereign. The periodical meeting of the States, their exclusive right of imposing the public burthens, the establishment of provincial assemblies*, the equal taxation of the property of the clergy and nobles with that of other citizens, the equal right of all to serve their country in civil or military employments, the redemption of vexatious rights, the abolition of the *lettres de cachét*, the liberty of the press, and the responsibility of ministers, were in reality held out, and might most certainly

* The provincial assemblies, as proposed by the king, were to have been composed, of, two tenths, representatives of the clergy; three tenths, of the nobles; and five tenths of the *tiers état*, or commons; who were to be freely chosen by their respective orders.—The internal administration of the finances in each province was to be committed to the assembly, which during the recesses, was to be represented by a committee elected from among its members.

have

have been obtained without any public commotion* or private calamity. Nothing was wanting but to reduce these propositions into laws, and the constitution was completed. The amendment of the judiciary code, and a variety of other matters, must naturally have followed. Here indeed would have been room for the admiration of this and future ages; to see the sovereign and the subjects of an immense nation concur in establishing a system of government for their mutual happiness, who could have said to posterity, "We
 " transmit to you this work of peace and
 " concord; a compact made with our free
 " consents, without being disgraced by any
 " act of injustice, or tinged with a drop of
 " blood." A constitution formed under such happy auspices, and founded on such wholesome principles, must naturally have

* See *Declaration des Intentions du Roi*, pronounced the 23d of June, 1789. Appendix, No. XI.

grown into vigour, while internal tranquillity would have been undisturbed, and the revenue uninterrupted.

But, without enquiring into the motives that produced them, let us suppose the offers, that were made by the king on the 23d of June, rejected, and the assembly arrived at that period of its history, where it is evident that no interruption could be given to its operations by the court:—I mean the 17th of July, or the still more unquestionable epoch, the 6th of October, when the royal family were removed to Paris.—May an impartial by-stander, who has nothing to do with either party, or any interest in their divisions farther than that which may be excited by humanity, be permitted to ask, whether a constitution might not already have been formed, which, by embracing the interests of the sovereign, the clergy, the nobles, and the commons, might have induced all to maintain it, rather than risk another change. Let us reflect

reflect on what France might have been, and then let us look at the picture it exhibits still*. We see the flame of civil discord blazing in all its force from the Pyrenees to the Rhine, from the Alps to the ocean. The clergy complaining that their property has been confiscated; the nobility, that rights, which formed part of their estates, have been taken from them without any compensation, while the houses of many were burned and plundered, and the possessors obliged to conceal themselves, or seek refuge in other countries: we see the streets and highways covered with vagabonds, or artisans who can no longer find employment; the prisons filled with real or supposed criminals; the minds of all tormented with mutual hatred and a constant succession of just or imaginary terrors; and an innumerable people with arms in their hands, and furnished with

* 1st of June, 1790.

a declaration, which being above their comprehension, has already produced, and may hereafter be the cause of, unspeakable misfortunes *.

Such

* “ Les meurtres, les devastations, les incendies se
 “ propageoient dans les provinces du Limoufin, du
 “ Perigord, de l’Agenois, et du Condomois; des
 “ hordes de brigands pour qui le nom de la liberté
 “ n’etoit devenu que le pretexte de la licence, devas-
 “ toient les propriétés, violoient les asyles plus sacrés,
 “ le fer et la flamme à la main. Les temples de la
 “ religion n’avoient pas été respectés. Chaque famille,
 “ chaque pasteur, chaque citoyen, plongés dans la
 “ terreur et le desespoir, se demandoient avec effroi
 “ s’il n’existoit plus de justice publique.”

*Vide Discours prononcé à la séance de l’Assemblée Na-
 tionale du Jeudi 8 Avril 1790, par M. D’Au-
 geard, Président de la chambre des vacations du
 Parlement de Bordeaux.*

M. D’Augeard had been summoned to appear at the bar of the national assembly, to answer for resolutions taken by the parliament of Bordeaux, thought to be contradictory to the decrees of the assembly. M. D’Augeard gave the description of the state of those countries that were immediately within his inspection, and the same might have been given of many others.

He says in another place;

“Le

Such is *the interval of crisis* between the destruction of the old and the maturity of the new government. After immense losses to the kingdom occasioned by the failure in the revenue, the interruptions to industry and commerce, and the loss of credit with foreign nations* ; after many public and private calamities while they were taken up with speculative discussions ; they will probably find themselves in many instances obliged to return back in their own footsteps, and abandoning the theory of schools, to have recourse to principles approved by experience. The genius of

“ Le roi étoit venu épancher sa douleur au milieu
“ de vous ! Ce roi si bienfaisant, si digne de l’amour
“ de ses peuples, dont les malheurs présentent à
“ l’Europe étonnée un si étrange contraste avec ses
“ vertus, s’étoit plaint avec attendrissement des cruels
“ effets de la licence.”

* The usual exchange between England and France is about thirty pence sterling for the ecu of three livres, but was long at little more than twenty-five, and the exchange with other commercial nations in the same proportion.

the people requires a monarch ; the extent of the country, the number and diversity of its inhabitants, the propensity of many of them to extremes, demand a strong executive power : without this, probably, the parts would separate from each other, or be exposed to conquest. This power can only reside in the prince ; but, the nation is now too enlightened, and has obtained too great energy, to bow again under the rod of despotism ; and when it emerges from its present difficulties, and corrects the errors that have been committed, if it does not arrive at an Utopian, it will at least have a better government, than any it enjoyed before.

When Lewis XVI acts from the impulse of his own sentiments, we find him economical,—almost parsimonious. The present embarrassments of the state took their origin as far back as the expensive reign of Lewis XIV, and were compleated by the late war
with

with England, to support the defection of her colonies. The deficiency in May 1789, was represented by the first minister of the finances to be, 56 millions 239 thousand livres *: but let us suppose that the abolition of the gabelle † and other vexatious duties, might have occasioned a diminution in the revenue, of 44 millions, notwithstanding the proposals that have been made to replace the gabelle by other taxes;—the annual deficiency would then have been - - - 100 millions.

To fill up this deficiency, the improvements that might be made in several branches of the present revenue, as stated by different persons, may be reckoned moderately at - - - 30 millions.

* See the result of an account of the revenue and disbursements delivered by Mr. Necker to the States, Appendix, No. 13.

† The gabelle is a duty on salt, that produced about sixty millions of livres *per annum*.

The National Assembly has proposed reductions in the expences to the amount of sixty millions; but, to avoid severity to those who reposed with confidence on grants that had been made to them for their lives, let us state these reductions at only - - - - - 40 millions.

And the abolishing all pecuniary exemptions, whether to communities, towns, or individuals, with the increase of revenue arising from the equality of taxation, would certainly have produced above - - - - - 30 millions *.

The clergy, besides consenting to an equal taxation, offered, since the Revolu-

* A French writer compared the nation, in its late embarrassments, to a workman who has his shop full of materials, but is in a state of mendicity from idleness, or ignorance how to employ them. In other countries, invention is put to the rack to find resources; in France they are innumerable. A stamp duty alone, that has not yet been tried, on a fair calculation, and at a very moderate rate, it is thought would produce above two millions sterling yearly.

tion,

tion, to raise and pay the sum of 400 millions of livres, or 16,666,666 pounds sterling, and to encrease the allowance to curates to 1200 livres yearly, on condition that the King and Assembly should empower them to suppress such convents and monasteries as were unnecessary; to sell the estates, and unite the monks and nuns with those in other convents of the same order*. Thus, the state would have been put at once above its wants, an immense sum brought into the treasury, the people relieved, the order of public œconomy established, and the creditors amply secured. But like the offers made by the king at the *seance royal*, of the 23d of June, those from the clergy

* Under a settled government, there would have been no difficulty for the clergy to have raised this sum in the course of a few months. The property that has been withdrawn from circulation, and now lies unemployed, is immense; and besides their usual revenue, they would have had to offer in security for the money, the estates of the convents that were to be suppressed.

came too late ; it had now become a principal object with the ruling party to abolish them as an order, and make them merely stipendiaries. The sale of their property not only held out a means to pay off a principal part of the national debt, but promised to raise in the creditors of the nation, and the purchasers of their estates, an interest sufficiently powerful to uphold the constitution, and prevent them from regaining their influence.

The capital of the debt of France may be reckoned at about 190 millions sterling. It has been called somewhat less, but it must be remembered, that the sums paid for places and employments, which, if they are abolished, must be refunded, have in general been greatly undervalued ; many of them bring to the purchaser scarcely two *per cent.* a year on the purchase money.

On this debt government pays interest :

In perpetual annuities, *liv.* 56,796,924

Life annuities, 101,469,586

Tontines, 3,199,880

Interest on money borrowed,

to be reimbursed at stated

periods, 44,856,000

Engagements with the clergy *, 2,500,000

Salaries of places and offices

that have been sold by the

crown, 14,729,000

223,551,390

or about 9,314,641 pounds sterling ; but which, it must be observed, is constantly diminishing by the natural extinction of the life annuities.

* Mr. Necker states this sum in the annual fixed expences ; but the whole of the engagements with the clergy, that remained to be discharged, appear to have amounted to 25,500,000 livres, six millions of which were to be paid off in six years, at the rate of a million yearly ; and 19,500,000 in thirteen years, at the rate of 1,500,000 yearly.

On this debt Government pay interest
in perpetual annuities, which is 1,000,000
the annuities, and the interest is 1,000,000
Tonnage, and the interest is 1,000,000
laid on money borrowed, and the interest
to be repaid at that time is 1,000,000
annuities, in addition to the 1,000,000
Engagements with the Navy, 1,000,000
Salaries of places and offices, 1,000,000
that have been laid by the law, 1,000,000
of crown, 1,000,000

It is said to be the sum of 1,000,000
of about 0.314,000 pounds sterling; but
which, it must be observed, is constantly
diminishing by the natural extinction of
the life annuities.

Mr. Necker states this sum in the annual fixed ex-
penditure; but the whole of the engagements with the
crown, that remained to be discharged, appear to have
amounted to 2,500,000 livres, six millions of which
were to be paid off in six years, at the rate of a mil-
lion yearly; and 10,000,000 in thirteen years, at the
rate of 1,500,000 yearly.

A P P E N D I X.

N^o I.

NICHOLAS FOUQUET was a gentleman of Britany, whose family practised the law *. His father had been

* In France, most of the offices in the law were purchased; the purchase money had been originally paid to the crown. This custom was first established in 1515 by Francis I, and has continued ever since. The office became the property of the purchaser, and descended to his heirs, or might again be sold, upon obtaining the approbation of the king, and paying a fee to the crown. The National Assembly has resolved to abolish the sale of these and other places (*venalité de charges*). The present possessors are however entitled to be reimbursed; and it is computed that above £25,000,000 sterling would be required for this purpose. It has been proposed to make the nation debtor for this capital, and in the mean time to pay the interest.

employed under the cardinal de Richelieu. The son was a *maitre des requêtes*, and afterwards bought the place of attorney-general. He was known to many of the principal persons at court, and in his character as attorney-general, he had opportunities of rendering important services to the cardinal de Mazarin, who afterwards made him *surintendant*, or first minister, of the finances. Some say, that being informed of his excessive expences, the cardinal shortly before his death put the king upon his guard against him, and pointed out Colbert, whom he recommended to be placed under the *surintendant*, as a proper person to observe his conduct. Soon after the cardinal's death, information was privately given to the king of the disordered state of the finances. The king demanded an account of them; he told Fouquet of the reports that prevailed; spoke to him with kindness, and assured him he did not mean to withdraw his confidence from him, if he would be candid.

did. It is said that Fouquet, trusting securely to the king's youth and inexperience, made out false statements. The king gave them privately to Colbert, who pointed out the deception. He, however, seemed satisfied, and called for other accounts, and for some months this scene of dissimulation was kept up. The king feigned so well, that Fouquet really imagined he had deceived him. Colbert, however, at last succeeded in convincing him of the infidelity of his minister; but he still felt a partiality for the man. He was likewise powerfully supported by the queen-mother, out of gratitude for his services during the regency.

Besides the dissipation of the public money, of which, doubtless, he was guilty, his enemies secretly accused him of other crimes, that in reality were absurd, and indeed entirely without foundation. He had purchased the island of *Belle-isle*; and it was said he was fortifying it, with an intention

tention of retiring thither and putting himself under the protection of a foreign power. The king believed this, and following the advice of le Tellier, the patron of Colbert, he resolved to have Fouquet arrested and tried by a special commission. But as it was apprehended that, on account of his office of attorney-general, he might be protected by the parliament, Colbert is accused of having had the duplicity to persuade him to dispose of the place, and to deposit the amount in the king's private coffer; which he accordingly did*. After his ruin had been determined, the king accepted an entertainment from Fouquet at his house at Vaux, which, with the furniture and gardens, had cost near eighteen millions of livres†.—Choisy observes, “that the king was astonished at the magnificence of the place and the entertainment, and Fouquet was sur-

* Choisy, &c. &c. &c. † Voltaire, &c. &c.

“prised

“prised at his astonishment.”—He adds, that it was intended to have arrested him in the midst of the music and dancing, but the queen-mother, with more magnanimity than her son, opposed and prevented this indelicate breach of hospitality. During the entertainment, he received a note from his friend Madame du Pleffis Belliere, apprising him of his danger; and throughout the rest of the evening, the king and his minister affected, what neither of them felt; the one, to be highly pleased; the other, to be perfectly tranquil. At last, through the influence of the duchess de Chevreuse, likewise a friend of Colbert, the queen-mother was prevailed on to withdraw her protection from him. His enemies industriously increased the young monarch’s suspicions; and the precautions that were taken to arrest him, as they were unnecessary, became ridiculous. Troops were, under different pretences, sent into Britany; the king took a journey on purpose; his ministers

ministers accompanied him; and, after a variety of dispositions, Fouquet was arrested at Nantes on the 5th of September 1661, as he was going out of the castle, where he had assisted at a council.

As soon as the news arrived at Paris, the Abbé Fouquet, his brother, was going to set fire to his house, that he might be certain that all his private papers were destroyed; but Madame du Pleffis opposed it, imagining that, as he was informed of the intrigues of his enemies, he could not be so imprudent as to leave any of importance behind; yet some were found that were produced against him on his trial; and others, that affected many persons at court, were kept by the king. Madame de Motteville says; “ *On lut ses papiers et*
“ *ses lettres; ou on trouva de plusieurs per-*
“ *sonnes de la cour, les unes pleines d'in-*
“ *trigues politiques, les autres des galanteries.*
“ *Par elles on vit qu’il y avoit des femmes*

*“ et des filles qui passoient pour sages et
“ bonnêtes, qui ne l'étoient pas; et on con-
“ nut manifestement que, s'il avoit une grande
“ ambition, il n'avoit pas moins d'emporte-
“ ment pour la volupté. Peu de personnes de
“ la cour se trouverent exemptes d'avoir été
“ sacrifier au Veau d'Or; et comme par un
“ malheur fort extraordinaire pour eux, le
“ surintendant gardoit toutes les lettres qu'on
“ lui écrivoit; le roi, et la reine sa mere, les
“ ayant toutes lues, y virent des choses qui
“ firent tort à beaucoup de personnes.”*

But what principally served to alienate the king's affections from Fouquet, and make him consent to the severe measures that were employed against him, is said to have been, the discovery that he had conceived a passion for Madame de la Valiere. Perhaps, not knowing the king's attachment to her, he had declared his own; but his declaration was ill received, and a present of 200,000 livres he had offered her, sent back with indignation.

He

He was conducted from Nantes to the castle at Angers, from thence to that at Amboise, where he remained till Christmas 1661. He was then brought to Vincennes, and afterwards to the Bastile. His trial lasted near two years. The judges were divided in their opinions, and the ministers were accused of using improper influence with them. Some persons, talking on the subject before the maréchal de Turenne, blamed the violence of Colbert, and commended the moderation of le Tellier. Monsieur de Turenne, who in general spoke little, said, "*Effectivement, je crois que Monsieur Colbert a plus d'envie qu'il soit pendu; et Monsieur le Tellier a plus de peur qu'il ne le soit pas.*" At last, by a sentence of the royal chamber at the Arsenal, dated the 20th December 1664, he was condemned to perpetual banishment; but the king changed it to imprisonment for life. During the whole of his trial, he was guarded with uncommon strictness.

An

An officer of confidence, named d'Artignan, who had been employed to arrest him, constantly remained with him, nor did he quit him till he had conducted him from the Bastile to the castle at Pignerol. He died there, early in 1681; his body was brought to Paris, and buried, on the 28th March, at the church of the convent of Saint Mary, in the street Saint Anthony*.

* The following is an extract from the parish register, which we conceive is alone sufficient to destroy an idea that was once entertained by the people, that he was the prisoner with the mask, who died in 1703.

“ L'an 1681, le 28 Mars, le corps de tres haut et
 “ tres puissant seigneur, Messire Nicolas Fouquet,
 “ surintendant des finances et ministre d'état, décédé
 “ à Pignerol, a été inhumé par transport en l'église
 “ de notre susdite monastere, &c.”

Madame de Sevigny says; “ Si j'étois de la famille
 “ de Monsieur Fouquet, je me garderois bien de faire
 “ voyager son pauvre corps comme on dit qu'ils vont
 “ faire; je le ferois enterrer là; il resteroit à Pigne-
 “ rol; et, après 19 ans, ce ne seroit pas de cette sorte
 “ que je voudrois le faire sortir de prison.”

Fouquet

Fouquet is said to have possessed a great share of wit, and much taste and knowledge both in the fine arts and polite learning; to have been generous in his disposition, elegant in his manners, and entertaining and amiable in society: but he was given up to his pleasures, extravagant in his expences, and incapable of that precision and attention which the duties of his office required. His rival and successor Colbert, instead of wit, had an excellent understanding, was assiduous in business, and a lover of order and œconomy. Without being generous, he rewarded merit with liberality; without having taste, he patronised learning and the arts. In his private life, we find his exact character; but in all his public actions, he seems to have been animated by what were, or he thought ought to be, the sentiments of his sovereign. During his administration were instituted the Academies of Inscriptions and Belles

Belles Lettres*, of Painting and Sculpture*, of Sciences†, one for Students in Painting, &c. at Rome‡, and one of Architecture§.

The following anecdote, told by the duke de Saint Simon, strongly marks the vicissitudes of those who seek their fortunes at a despotic court, where every thing depends on the will of the sovereign.

Not long before the disgrace of Fouquet, there appeared at court a gentleman of a good family in Gascony, named Peguelin, *as rich, says he, as younger brothers of that country generally are.* He was received at the house of his relation, the maréchal de Grammont, who was in great favour with the queen-mother and the cardinal. His son, the count de Guiche, presented his relation Peguelin at the house of Madame

* These two academies were established in 1663.

† Established in 1666.

‡ Established in 1667.

§ Established in 1671.

de Soissons*, where the king then spent the greatest part of his time. He became a favourite, was afterwards made count de Lauzun, and rose to many high offices. Having told the king that he had broken his word, in having given the place of grand master of the artillery to another, though he had promised it to him, *he was sent to the Bastile* in 1669, but was soon set at liberty, and returned to court. Madame de Montespan professed great friendship for him, but he suspected her sincerity, as he knew she secretly supported the measures of Louvois, his inveterate enemy. Complaining to her one day of what had happened, and expressing his fears that some one did him ill offices with the king, he entreated her to find out who the person was, and to use her influence to remove any unfavourable impressions he might have

* The countess de Soissons, niece to the cardinal de Mazarin.

given of him. Knowing the king was to have a private interview with her, he, by means of one of her maids, was admitted into her apartment, and hid himself under her bed, where he heard their conversation, and discovered her treachery. The king having retired, and Madame de Montespan gone into another room, Lauzun got away. He soon afterwards returned to conduct her to the rehearsal of a ballet, at which all the court was to be present. Though naturally extremely passionate, he made an effort not to appear discomposed. In handing her to the opera-house, he asked if she had spoken to the king, and made many protestations of the confidence he placed in her friendship. She said she had, and told him a tale, not a syllable of which was true. Lauzun could not contain himself any longer; he broke out into a violent fit of anger, and, reproaching her with falsehood, repeated all her conversation with the king. Nothing could sur-

pass her confusion and astonishment; she trembled, with difficulty got to her place, and soon after fainted. She afterwards related to the king the cause of her sudden illness; "*he told me,*" said she, "*our very words, and nothing has escaped him.*" But the way he had taken to hear the conversation being discovered, in November 1671 he was again arrested, sent to the Bastile, and from thence to Pignerol. Fouquet had been there since the year 1664; and, having no communication with any one but those who guarded him, was entirely ignorant of what had passed in the world since the day he was arrested in 1661. Lauzun found means to get into his room; Fouquet was anxious to hear what had happened at court since the time he left it; but, when this younger brother of a family of Gascony, who had thought himself happy in being received by the *maréchal de Grammont*, told him that he had been colonel-general of the dragoons, and
captain

captain of the life-guards; that he had commanded an army consisting of all the household troops that accompanied the king to Flanders*; that the king had once consented to his marriage with Mademoiselle de Montpensier †, and had promised him the place of *grand maitre* of the artillery ‡; he thought he had sufficiently discovered the cause of his confinement; he only sought an opportunity of getting away from him, nor did he desire another interview.—Some months after this, the family of Fouquet were permitted to come and see him, and he was likewise allowed to receive the visits of the officers of the castle. He related to them his adventure

* When Lewis the XIVth, under pretence of visiting the towns in Flanders with all his court, accompanied Henrietta, duchess of Orleans, to Boulogne, who was employed by him in a secret negotiation with her brother Charles the II^d.—See *Mémoires de Choisy*, &c. &c. &c.

† Daughter of Gaston, duke of Orleans.

‡ Then the first military place under the crown.

with *poor Peguelin*; he lamented the state of his mind, saying he had left him on a very good footing in the house of *Madame de Soiffons*, and thought him a young man in a fair way to advance himself: but, when they confirmed what had been told him, he looked at them with amazement, and was with difficulty convinced that they were serious. Lauzun and he afterwards frequently saw each other: Lauzun obtained his liberty about the time that *Fouquet* died, but he was forbidden to come to court. He went to Paris, to the army, and to England, from whence he conducted the queen and prince of Wales to France, on the 21st December 1688. When she was met by *Lewis the XIVth* at *Saint Germain*, she expressed her sorrow at not being able to bring into his presence the person to whom she was principally indebted for her safety. *Lewis* said, he partook so much of the obligation, that he wished immediately to shew his
sense

sense of it.—Lauzun was accordingly presented to him, was extremely well received, attended the court as usual, but never could get back his place of captain of the life-guards, which he seems to have passionately desired to the last. In 1692 he was created a duke.—It is generally believed that he was privately married to Mademoiselle de Montpensier, who died on the 5th of April 1693; but, having quarrelled, they had not seen each other for some years.—He married a second time when far advanced in years, and died, in 1723, at the age of ninety.

some of his friends was accordingly presented to him, was extremely well received, attended the court as usual, but never could get back his captain of the life-guards, which he seems to have paid.

THE Janfenists took their name from Cornelius Janfenius, born of catholic parents at Laerdam in Holland. He studied at Utrecht, Louvain, and Paris, and was afterwards principal of the college at Bayonne. He returned to Louvain, was professor of theology there, and died bishop of Ypres. A work, published some time after his death, contained new opinions concerning some of the Christian doctrines, but chiefly on the efficacy of divine grace; which being condemned by Urban VIII in 1649, many of his admirers took up the defence of his tenets. The subject was agitated in the parliament of Paris; it was referred to the Roman pontiff; and after being examined by a council that sat three years for that purpose, by a bull of Innocent

cent X, issued in 1653, five articles of the work were declared to be impious and heretical. Each article was extracted and condemned separately; but no mention was made either of what preceded or followed it. Those who defended the opinions of Janfenius said, that though the articles were literally quoted, the interpretation given to them was unfair; but the cardinal de Mazarin got the bull accepted by a majority of an assembly of the clergy, who declared that the sense on which the five articles had been condemned, was the only one in which they could be taken. The schism increasing, a form or declaration of faith was drawn up by the assembly of the clergy, and sent to pope Alexander VII. In 1665 he issued a bull, confirming those of his predecessors, and commanding the declaration of faith to be observed. By an order of the king, the declaration was registered by the parliament; it was ordained,

dained, that no confessor should give absolution, till the penitent had solemnly declared his adherence to it; and severe penalties were denounced against all those of the priesthood who should presume to disobey. It now became a law of the state, as well as an ordinance of the church, yet several bishops had the courage to protest against it. The Jansenists were violently attacked by the Jesuits, and ably defended by Arnaud and others; but the work that hurt the Jesuits the most, was the *Lettres Provinciales* by Pascal, especially those letters that turned them into ridicule. Voltaire observes, that they are models of eloquence and humour, *les meilleures comedies de Moliere, n'ont pas plus de sel que les premieres Lettres Provinciales: Bossuet n'a rien de plus sublime que les dernieres.* But in spite of the authority of the pope, the king, and the greatest part of the clergy, Jansenism continued to increase. In 1694 and 1696

Clement IX issued two bulls, which, though they appeared to approve those of his predecessors, were intended to conciliate the differences the latter had produced, from whence they were called *the peace of Clement*. They had in a great measure effected what was intended by them, when in 1702 there appeared, *A case of conscience*, wherein it is alleged, that an ecclesiastic who, though he had agreed to condemn the five propositions of Jansenius, according to the sense ascribed to them in the bull of Innocent X, but having refused to say that the bull gave the true sense, was denied absolution. The greater number of the members of the Sorbonne declared, that absolution should neither have been denied, nor the second question proposed. The flame of controversy broke out with double violence. Clement XI, pressed by the Jesuits, at last published his *Vincam Domini Sabaoth*, dated the 15th July 1705, by which

which it appears that he thought, that even a respectful silence on the interpretation given to the five articles by pope Innocent was not sufficient, nor conformable to the deference and submission due to the father of the church. Another doubt was now agitated, whether by the *Vincam Domini Sabaoth*, a positive declaration on the meaning was actually required or not. As in many other controversies, the original question was forgotten; and the great body of the Jansenists, and of those who cried out against them, though they sincerely hated each other, knew not on what account.

Le Tellier, a Jesuit, a man of an impetuous and implacable temper, having succeeded father la Chaise as confessor to the king, obtained from Clement the XIth a bull, dated the 8th of September 1713, beginning *Unigenitus Dei Filius*, and from thence called the bull *Unigenitus*. This bull condemned a hundred and one articles of

of a book called *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*, by the *Pere Quesnel**. The author was a man of known piety and distinguished learning. The clamour against the bull was very violent, but by

* Pasquier Quesnel was born at Paris, and educated at the Sorbonne. He entered at the *Oratoire*†, and composed, for the use of the young persons there, *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*. This work was afterwards corrected, and published. It acquired great reputation, and was much admired by the cardinal de Noailles, a prelate universally respected; but it drew on Quesnel the resentment of the Jesuits, who had great influence with the king, and he was advised to quit Paris. He retired to Brussels, but they followed him in his retreat, and in 1703 obtained an order from the court of Spain, by which he was thrown into prison at Malines. He was rescued by some of his friends in the night, in the month of September of that year, and went to Holland. He wrote several other works, and died at Amsterdam on the 2d of December 1719, aged 85 years.

† The oratoire is a society or congregation of secular clergy, instituted at Paris in 1611, by Lewis XIII. They have a general, who is obliged to reside in France; the members may quit the society, and are not obliged to take vows. It has produced several persons eminent for learning and eloquence.

the

the authority of the court it was registered in the parliament, yet with several reservations; and afterwards in the Sorbonne, though a majority of the members were against it. It was called *the constitution*; but was openly opposed by fifteen bishops, and a great number of the other clergy. Lewis XIV died on the 1st of September 1715; and, as might be expected, most of his maxims were changed. Le Tellier was exiled, and the bishops who had been forbidden to appear at Paris, were recalled. The constitution, however, was supported by the holy see.—In France, violent writings appeared on both sides, and each party treated the other with every term of contumely and reproach. The regent, after consulting the principal leaders on both sides, adopted a mode of conciliation. Certain modifications were proposed, and the cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, who had firmly opposed the constitution under these modifications, consented to receive

receive it. An edict commanding peace and unanimity, was registered in the parliament, in the presence of the regent, the other princes of the blood, and almost all the peers. But the numbers of Jansenists, even in the parliament itself, were still very considerable. They would, however, perhaps, have gradually declined, but for the persecutions that were again raised against them during the administration of the cardinal de Fleury: and, what may almost seem a paradox, at a time when the influence of religion in France is less than in any country of Europe, many yet remain, who are as warmly attached to their notions, as those at the end of the last century were.

N^o. III.

THE count de Buffy Rabutin was arrested, and sent to the Bastile, on the 17th of April 1665, for writing *l'Histoire amoureuse de Gaules*, and some other works; in which several persons at court, of both sexes, were severely treated. The king said, he had created himself so many enemies, that it was necessary for his safety to shut him up.—On hearing this, he exclaimed, *voilà ce qui s'appelle enfoncer le poignard avec grace, et cet un roi qui parle.* He believed he had been betrayed by his mistress. He had given her the manuscript to read, and she took a copy of it.—Speaking of himself when in confinement, he says, *Quoique je sentisse vivement le mauvais traitemens qui je recevois de mon maitre, ceux que je recevois de ma maitresse ne me tourmentoit*

mentoit pas moins. La fortune et l'amour m'accabloient d'inquietudes, mais ce qui augmentoient celles de l'amour, c'est, que je m'étois toujours défié de la fortune et jamais de l'amour. He seems to have been passionately fond of her, and at one time to have been equally beloved; but she was inconstant.

Je m'étois rebuté de la lecture dans les premiers mois. Quand on lit en prison, on ne s'attache qu'aux matieres qui peuvent faire craindre. Si l'on trouve dans les histoires de longues prisons, on ne manque jamais de prendre cela pour soi; toutes les grandes disgraces font trembler. De vingt volumes que j'avois lu, il ne m'étoit demeuré dans la memoire que la prison de Marie Stuart de dix-huit années; celles de Charles d'Orleans de vingt cinq, et celle de Jean Comte d'Angouleme son pere de trente—je n'avois retenu que cela:—les sujets mêmes et les aventures agreables, m'avoient fait souffrir en les lisant, par ce que j'avois du regret de n'être pas en etat d'en avoir de semblables.

R

Being

Being attacked by a dangerous disease, an order from the king, of the 16th of May 1666, was issued, by which he was removed from the Bastile to a private house; and on his recovery was exiled to his estate in Burgundy, where he remained about seventeen years. He afterwards had permission to come to court; the king received him with kindness, but neither gave him back any of the places which, during his confinement, he had been desired to resign, nor the order of the *Saint Esprit*, that had formerly been promised to him. He returned to Burgundy, but occasionally made visits to Versailles, chiefly on account of his sons; and died the 9th of April 1693, aged 75. He was a member of the French academy *, and enjoyed a considerable degree of reputation as a man of letters and a soldier.

* The French academy was founded by letters patent from Lewis the XIIIth, dated in January 1635, and the cardinal de Richelieu declared its protector.

N^o IV.

LOUIS, Chevalier de Rohan, was second son of Louis de Rohan, prince of Guimené, and duke of Montbazou.

On several occasions he had distinguished himself as a soldier, but he was loose in his morals, and his extravagance had ruined his fortune *. To obtain a sum of money, he and Monsieur de la Truaumont, a gentleman of Normandy, had engaged to excite a revolt there, and put Quillebeuff into the hands of the Dutch; though it appears, as Buffy de Rabutin observes, "that they

* Choisy says, "Le Chevalier de Rohan avoit aussi
"bonne mine qu'homme du royaume; c'étoit un
"homme d'un esprit derangé, plein d'imaginations
"vagues, brave, et magnifique; il y auroit eu du bon
"dans sa sorte d'esprit, si quelque regle avoit pu former
"en lui quelque chose qui ressembloit aux usages or-
"dinares, et à ce que les autres pensent."

“ had not influence enough to raise the inhabitants of a single village.” The affair was first discovered, and communicated, by the French ambassador at London, where a sum had been deposited payable to the chevalier de Rohan; and farther lights were derived from papers that were found in some baggage that was taken at the battle of Senef. He was arrested and sent to the Bastile. His accomplices, besides Truaumont, were, the chevalier de Préault, nephew to Truaumont; the marchioness de Villers, who was in love with Préault; and a school-master in the suburbs of Saint Anthony, named Vanden Eude, who was employed as their messenger. Monsieur de Brisac, major of the guards, was sent into Normandy to arrest Truaumont, who in defending himself was killed. The chevalier de Rohan was closely confined in the Bastile; no one was permitted to see or write to him; he knew nothing that passed abroad, but he constantly denied what he

he was accused of, and there was no positive proof against him. Monsieur de Besons, the king's commissary, told him, that Truauumont, just before his death, had revealed every thing; he advised him, therefore, candidly to do the same; to throw himself on the king's clemency, and, it is said, even assured him of his pardon. Trusting to that assurance, perhaps, he did so; and upon his own confession only, as the other circumstances did not amount to sufficient proof, was condemned to be beheaded. On discovering the treachery that had been used to obtain that confession, he became so outrageous, that his keepers were obliged to bind him. He was attended for some days before his death, by the Jesuit father Bourdaloue, celebrated for his eloquence and piety. He became perfectly calm, and entirely resigned to his fate. He had sent a request to have the sentence privately executed in the Bastile; but when informed that it could not be complied with,

after thinking a moment, he said, "*tant mieux nous aurons plus d'humiliation.*" Some persons connected with his family, engaged the king to see the tragedy of Cinna, and took the opportunity of the example of the clemency of Augustus, to solicit his pardon; but he replied, that though his own feelings prompted him to forgive him, he was debarred from yielding to them by his duty to the public. About two hours before his death, he wrote a letter to his mother, the princess of Guimené. He was beheaded on the 29th of November 1674, on a scaffold that was erected before the arsenal. The chevalier de Préault and Madame de Villers were likewise beheaded on the same day, and Vanden Eude hanged. Madame de Villers was condemned on the evidence of some of her letters that Préault had the indiscretion to preserve; she at first gently reproached him, but afterwards smiling, she said, "we must not think on what is passed, but only how

" to

“ to die.” It is said, that the executioner having cut off the heads of three persons of quality, and thinking it, on such an occasion, beneath him to occupy himself with a simple *bourgeois*, looking at Vanden Eude, said to his assistants—*Pendez moi cela, vous autres*; and went away.

The chevalier de Rohan having lost one day at the cardinal de Mazarin's a considerable sum to the king at play, he paid him eight hundred louis, and was going to pay the rest in Spanish pistoles. The king refused to receive them, observing, that it had been agreed to play for louis d'ors. The chevalier de Rohan took the pistoles off the table, and threw them out at the window, saying, he would keep nothing that was unacceptable to his majesty. The king complained of the impropriety of his behaviour to the cardinal, who replied, *Sire, le chevalier de Rohan a joué en Roi, et vous en chevalier de Rohan*. If the lesson was then necessary, it must be

owned it had its full effect, as we know not afterwards of any instance in which Louis XIV. could be accused of either meanness or avarice, if we except his receiving as a gift the money for which the unfortunate Fouquet sold his place of attorney-general,

N^o. V.

IN 1680, two women, named La Vigoureux and La Voisin, were much talked of at Paris as *fortune-tellers*. Numbers went to see them; and it was imagined that their house, under the pretext of curiosity, became a place of rendezvous for intrigues. Among the persons of rank that frequented it, were the maréchal de Luxembourg, and the countess de Soissons, niece to the cardinal de Mazarin. Louvois was the secret enemy of Luxembourg; Madame de Montespan of M. de Soissons.

Information was given to the lieutenant of the police, that La Vigoureux and La Voisin prepared and sold poisons. They were arrested, and with them several others. Special commissioners were appointed to try them, who sat at the arsenal. The

court

court was called *la chambre ardente*, those convicted of poisoning being burnt to death; but the public afterwards gave it the name of the *tribunal de la vengeance*, as it was supposed Louvois made use of this opportunity to raise suspicions in the king's mind against those he disliked or feared. The *maréchal de Luxembourg* and *Madame de Soissons* were named in the accusations, as persons who had bought poisons. She immediately fled to Brussels, and never afterwards returned to France. But *Monsieur de Luxembourg*, of whose innocence no one then or since ever seriously entertained any doubt, went to the king at Saint Germain, and afterwards surrendered himself at the Bastile. It is said, that this great man, who in battle possessed coolness and courage in so eminent a degree, on this occasion shewed some marks of weakness and want of dignity.—Before he left Saint Germain, he requested to see *Father la Chaise*, the king's confessor, in private;

private; and was closeted with him above an hour. But a mind, incapable of fearing an honourable death, and even formed to brave misfortune, might be unable to sustain with its usual fortitude an accusation of so humiliating a kind; especially as he probably felt he had furnished a pretext to his enemies, by being connected with those who perhaps were guilty.

On his arrival at the Bastile, he was conducted to the best apartment; but, on the same day, the governor received an order, to put him into one of the rooms secured with iron grates and double doors, and not to allow any one to see him but his keepers. —“ Here,” says Madame de Sevigny, “ is
“ a subject for reflection:—think of the
“ brilliant fortune of this man—of the ho-
“ nour he has acquired in commanding the
“ king’s armies—think what it must be for
“ him to hear the creaking of those mon-
“ strous bolts—and, if from fatigue he
“ should fall asleep, consider what his
“ thoughts

“ thoughts must be when he awakes.” —
She says, in another letter, “ His inten-
“ dant is condemned to the galleys; he had
“ fully justified his master; he is undoubt-
“ edly *un tres bon, ou tres mauvais, va-*
“ *let.*”

The two women, La Vigoureux and La Voisin, were condemned to be burnt; but all the persons of distinction, who had been arrested, were declared innocent, and set at liberty.

The maréchal was exiled by the king to his estate; but at the end of about two years he was recalled, resumed his offices, and, after a most splendid career as a soldier, died at Versailles the 4th of January 1695, aged 67. The portrait given of him by the duke de Saint Simon has been generally allowed to be just. He says, “ He
“ possessed genius, courage, and ambition
“ without bounds. He perfectly under-
“ stood the art of intrigue, whether with
“ women or in politics. The qualities of
“ his

“ his mind overcame the disadvantages of
“ a forbidding figure ; and, what cannot
“ be accounted for, and can hardly be be-
“ lieved but by those who knew him, not-
“ withstanding a small hump before, and a
“ large pointed one behind, accompanied
“ with the usual peculiarities of persons
“ so deformed, he had a fire, a nobleness,
“ and natural grace, that constantly shone
“ in all he did, even in his most simple
“ actions.”

An officer, who had been taken prisoner
by the prince of Orange, telling the maré-
chal one day, that the prince, in speaking
of him, generally called him *le bossu*—the
hump-back—he laughed, and said, *How
does he know? he never saw me behind.*

N° VI.

BEFORE I enter on the different opinions that have been entertained about the prisoner with the mask, I shall relate such circumstances concerning him, as appear to be well authenticated; and begin with two extracts from a journal of Monsieur de Jonca, who was many years *lieutenant du roi* at the Bastile.

“ On Thursday the 18th of September
“ 1698, at three o'clock in the afternoon,
“ Monsieur de Saint Mars, governor of
“ the Bastile, arrived from the island of
“ Saint Marguerite. He brought with
“ him in a litter one of his former pri-
“ soners at Pignerol, whose name is not
“ mentioned, and who is constantly
“ masked. On his arrival, he was put
“ into the tower de la Basiniere till dark.

“ At

“ At nine in the evening I conducted him
 “ myself to the third room in the tower
 “ de la Bertaudiere, which I had taken
 “ care to furnish properly before his ar-
 “ rival, according to an order received by
 “ me from Monsieur de Saint Mars. In
 “ conducting him, I was accompanied by
 “ Monsieur de Rosarges, who came with
 “ M. de Saint Mars, and took care of, and
 “ attended, the prisoner, whose table was
 “ furnished by the governor*.

“ Monday, the 19th of November 1703.
 “ The unknown prisoner, whom Mon-
 “ sieur de Saint Mars brought with him
 “ from the island Saint Marguerite, where
 “ he had been a long time under his care,
 “ and who has always been masked with
 “ a mask of black velvet †, found himself
 “ worse

* As the governor fed all the prisoners according to stated allowances, I suppose he means that his table was furnished by the governor's own particular cook and servants.

† Though he has generally been called the prisoner with the iron mask, it is mentioned by several writers, that

“ worse yesterday in coming from mass,
“ and died this evening at ten o'clock,
“ without any great illness. The smell,
“ however, is not the less offensive. Mon-
“ sieur Girault, our chaplain, confessed
“ him yesterday: his death being sudden,
“ he had not an opportunity of taking
“ the sacraments, but our chaplain ex-
“ hortated him a few minutes before he
“ expired. He was buried on Tuesday
“ the 20th of November, in the burying-
“ place of our parish of Saint Paul. His
“ burial cost forty livres.”

*Extract from the register of the parish of
Saint Paul's.*

“ In the year 1703, on the 19th day
“ of November, *Marchiali*, aged forty-
“ five years, or thereabouts, died at the

that the mask was of black velvet, but probably with
ribs of steel, as it was made to fasten behind with a
small padlock.

“ Bastille

“ Bastile.—His body was interred in the
 “ burying-place of this parish of St. Paul,
 “ on the 20th of the said month, in the
 “ presence of Monsieur de Rosarges, major
 “ of the Bastile, and Monsieur Reilh, the
 “ surgeon, who accordingly sign this.”

Father Griffet, in speaking of the journal
 of de Jonca, observes*, “Of all that has
 “ been said of the prisoner with the mask,
 “ nothing can exceed the dependance that
 “ may be placed on this journal. It is
 “ the authentic writing of a man in office,
 “ an eye-witness, who daily wrote with his
 “ own hand, in his journal, events exactly
 “ as they happened.” He adds, that a
 great many circumstances relating to this
 prisoner were known to the officers and
 servants at the Bastile, when Monsieur de
 Launay was appointed major there †;
 that

* See *Traité de preuves qui servent pour établir la vérité de l'histoire.*

† This Monsieur de Launay was afterwards appointed
 governor of the Bastile in December 1618, by the
 S regent

that M. de Launay told him he was informed by them, that immediately after the prisoner's death, his apparel, linen, clothes, matresses, and in short every thing that had been used by him, were burnt; that the walls of his room were scraped, the floor taken up, evidently from the apprehension that he might have found means of writing any thing that would have discovered who he was; that Monsieur d'Argenson, who often came to the Bastile when lieutenant-general of the police, hearing that the garrison still spoke of this prisoner, asked one day what was said about him, and after hearing some of the conjectures, answered, *they will never know.*

It is related by others, that beside the precautions mentioned by Monsieur de Launay, the glass was taken out of the window of his room, and pounded to

regent duke of Orleans; he is mentioned by Madame de Staal.

dust;

dust; the window-frame and doors burnt; and the ceiling of the room, and the plaster of the inside of the chimney, taken down. Several persons have affirmed, that the body was buried without a head; and Monsieur de Saint Foix informs us, that *a gentleman, having bribed the sexton, had the body taken up in the night, and found a stone instead of the head* *.

Monsieur de la Grange Chancel †, who was sent prisoner to Saint Marguerite for writing

* See *Essais historiques*, par Monsieur de Saint Foix.

† M. de la Grange Chancel was a gentleman of Périgord, born at the castle of Anténiat in the year 1676. When very young, he was page to the princess of Conti, daughter of Lewis the XIVth by Madame de la Valiere. After the death of the king, he attached himself to the duchess of Maine. Soon after the publication of the *Philippic*, he retired to Avignon; but, being discovered, he was arrested, and sent to the island of Saint Marguerite. He amused himself there in writing verses; the governor allowed him a greater degree of liberty than was usual, and he found means of escaping to Piémont. From thence he went to

writing a satire, called *the Philippic*, on the regent duke of Orleans, says, in a letter to Monsieur Freron, " He (the governor *) likewise told me, that Monsieur de Saint Mars, who obtained the government of Saint Marguerite after that of Pignerol, behaved with the greatest respect to this prisoner; that he was always served on plate, and furnished with as rich clothes as he desired; that, when he had occasion to see a surgeon or physician, he was obliged, under pain of

Spain, where the command of a regiment was offered to him, but he refused it. The French ambassador having remonstrated with the Spanish court concerning him, he went to Holland, where, by way of safety, he got himself admitted a burgher of Amsterdam. Having been invited by the king of Poland to come to Dresden, he was on the point of going thither, when the death of the regent enabled him to return to his native country. He died in 1758. He possessed wit and learning, but was naturally satyrical.

* Monsieur de la Motte Guérin, who was governor of Saint Marguerite when M. de la Grange Chancel was confined there.

" death,

“ death, constantly to wear his mask ; but
 “ when he was alone, he sometimes amus-
 “ ed himself with pulling out the hairs of
 “ his beard with fine steel pincers. I saw
 “ one of these in the possession of Mon-
 “ sieur de Formanoir, nephew to Monsieur
 “ de Saint Mars, and lieutenant of a com-
 “ pany in the island. Several persons have
 “ informed me, that, when M. de Saint
 “ Mars went to take possession of the go-
 “ vernment of the Bastile, whither he was
 “ to conduct the prisoner, they heard the
 “ latter say to him, *Has the king any in-*
 “ *tention against my life ?* and Monsieur de
 “ Saint Mars reply, *No, PRINCE, your*
 “ *life is in safety ; you must only allow your-*
 “ *self to be conducted.*

“ One Dubuiffon, who had been cash-
 “ keeper to Samuel Barnard *, after being
 “ some years confined in the Bastile, was
 “ sent to Saint Marguerite. He told me,

* A famous court banker in the time of Lewis XIV.

“ that he was lodged, with other persons,
 “ in the room immediately above that
 “ where the prisoner with the mask was;
 “ that they found means of speaking to
 “ him by the vents of their chimneys;
 “ and that having one day pressed him to
 “ tell who he was, he refused, saying,
 “ that, if he did, it would not only cost
 “ his own life, but the lives of those to
 “ whom the secret might be revealed.”

Monsieur de Saint Mars, in his way
 from Saint Marguerite to the Bastile, halt-
 ed with his prisoner at his house of Pal-
 teau. The estate was afterwards bought
 by a person who took its name, and Mon-
 sieur de Palteau likewise writes a letter from
 thence to M. Freron, in which he says * :

“ As it appears by the letter of Mon-
 “ sieur de Saint Foix, of which you sent
 “ me a copy, that the man with the iron

* See Année littéraire for June 1768. Freron, in
 the hope of being able to contradict Voltaire in what
 he had written on this subject, seems to have taken
 much pains to inquire into it.

“ mask

“ mask still employs the imaginations of
“ our writers, I shall communicate to
“ you all that I know on that subject.

“ In 1698, Monsieur de Saint Mars was
“ removed from his government of Saint
“ Marguerite to that of the Bastile. In
“ going to his new government, he stop-
“ ped with his prisoner at Palteau. The
“ prisoner was in a litter that went before
“ that of Monsieur de Saint Mars, and
“ was accompanied by several men on
“ horseback. Some peasants that I exa-
“ mined, who went to pay their compli-
“ ments to their master, said, that while
“ he was at table with his prisoner, the
“ latter sat with his back towards the win-
“ dows that look into the court ; that they
“ did not observe, therefore, whether he
“ ate with his mask on, but saw very di-
“ stinctly, that Monsieur de Saint Mars,
“ who sat opposite to him, had a pair of
“ pistols lying by his plate. They were
“ attended at dinner only by a valet de
“ chambre,

“chambre, who brought in and carried
“out the dishes, always carefully shutting
“the door both in going out and return-
“ing. They say, that when he went
“across the court, he had a black mask on,
“but that they saw his teeth and lips;
“that he was tall, and had grey hair.
“M. de Saint Mars slept in the same room
“with him, in a second bed, that was placed
“in it on that occasion. I never heard that
“he had a foreign accent.”

It appears, that he was allowed the use of such books as he desired, and that he spent much of his time in reading. Monsieur Anquetil, author of a book, entitled; *Louis XIV, sa Cour, et le Regent*, says, that the abbé Langlet Dufresnois, who died in 1757, aged 82, told him, he had seen the prisoner with the mask, while he himself was confined in the Bastile; that he related nearly what has been said by others of his figure, and of the respect that was shewn to him by the governor; said, his wit was quick

quick and polished, that by his conversation he seemed as if he had travelled over all Europe *, and that he spoke of politics, of history, of religion, and was conversant in the news of the times. Monsieur Anquetil adds, that, on pressing the Abbé to tell him who he thought the prisoner was, he replied, *Would you make me go a ninth time to the Bastile † ?*

Monsieur de Voltaire says ‡, “ Some months after the death of this minister §, there happened an event of which there

* Perhaps the expression given to the abbé Langlet may not be precise; but a person, who has no other amusement but books, may, with a good memory, acquire sufficient knowledge to speak of countries as if he had travelled in them.

† He had been so accustomed to what he called *his walks to the Fauxbourg St. Anthony*, that one day seeing a person come into his house whom he knew to be an officer of the police, without waiting to hear his business, he called out to his housekeeper, *Come, make haste, my bundle of linen and my snuff.*

‡ Vide *Siecle de Louis XIV.*

§ The cardinal de Mazarin, who died at Vincennes, the 9th March 1661.

"is no example, and, what is no less
 "strange, the historians of that time seem
 "to have been unacquainted with it.
 "There was sent, with the greatest secre-
 "cy, to the castle on the island of Saint
 "Marguerite in the sea of Provence, an
 "unknown prisoner, rather above the mid-
 "dle size, young, and of a graceful figure.
 "On the road he wore a mask, with steel
 "springs, that enabled him to eat without
 "taking it off. Those, who conducted
 "him, had orders to kill him if he made
 "any attempt to discover himself. He re-
 "mained there until the governor of Pi-
 "gnerol, an officer of confidence, named
 "Saint Mars, being appointed governor
 "of the Bastille in 1690*, brought him
 "from

* This date may perhaps be an error of the press,
 especially as we find that Voltaire in another place cor-
 rects the date of 1704, that he erroneously gave for
 the death of the prisoner instead of 1703.—But here,
 as on many other occasions, we may observe the incor-
 rectness of Voltaire as a historian; we find unquesti-
 onable

“ from thence to the Bastile, always covered with a mask. The marquis de Louvois, who went and saw him at Saint Marguerite, spoke to him standing, and with that kind of attention that marks respect. He was lodged at the Bastile as well as that castle will admit of. Nothing was refused him that he desired. His chief taste was for lace and linen remarkably fine*. He played on the guitar. His table was the best that could be provided; and the governor seldom sat down in his presence. An old physician of the Bastile, who

onable proof, that the prisoner was first sent to Pignerol, from thence to Saint Marguerite, and lastly to the Bastile, but constantly under the care of Saint Mars.

* Monsieur de Saint Foix says, “ It is certain that Madame, le Brêt, mother of the late first president Monsieur le Brêt, used to buy at Paris, at the request of her intimate friend, Madame de Saint Mars, the finest linen and lace that could be procured, and send them to the island of Saint Marguerite for the use of this prisoner.”

See *Essais Historiques*, vol. vi. page 340.

iii ”

“ had

“ had often attended him when he was
“ indisposed, said, that he never saw his
“ face, though he had frequently examin-
“ ed his tongue and parts of his body ;
“ that he was admirably well made, that
“ his skin was rather brown, that he had
“ something interesting in the sound of his
“ voice, and that he never complained
“ or let drop any thing by which it might
“ be guessed who he was *.

“ This unknown person died in 1704 †,
“ and was buried in the night, at the
“ burying-ground of the parish of Saint
“ Paul. What increases our astonishment,
“ is, that when he was sent to Saint
“ Marguerite, no person of importance

* Voltaire says, in a note to this passage, “ A ce-
“ lebrated surgeon, who was in the pay of the maré-
“ chal de Richlieu, and son-in-law to the physician I
“ have mentioned, can bear witness to what I advance;
“ and Monsieur Bernaville, successor to M. de Saint
“ Mars, confirmed it to me.”

† In the late edition, published by Beaumarchais
with Baskerville's types, it is 1703.

“ in Europe was missing.—Yet this pri-
“ soner certainly was a person of import-
“ ance :—See what happened soon after
“ his arrival there—The governor put the
“ dishes on his table himself; retired, and
“ locked the door. One day the prisoner
“ wrote something with his knife on a
“ silver plate, and threw the plate out at
“ a window towards a boat that was
“ drawn on shore near the bottom of the
“ tower. A fisherman, to whom the boat
“ belonged, took up the plate and brought
“ it to the governor, who, with evident
“ astonishment, asked the man if he had
“ read what was written on the plate,
“ or if any other person had seen it. He
“ said he could not read, that he had but
“ just found it, and that no one else had
“ seen it. He was, however, confined
“ until the governor was certain that he
“ could not read, and that no other had
“ seen the plate. He then dismissed him,
“ saying,

“ saying, *It is lucky for you that you cannot*
 “ *read* *.

“ Among the persons who have had an
 “ immediate knowledge of this affair,
 “ there is one most worthy of credit
 “ who is still alive †.

“ Monsieur de Chamillard was the last
 “ minister who knew the secret. The
 “ second maréchal de la Feuillade, his
 “ son-in-law, told me, that when Mon-
 “ sieur de Chamillard was on his death-
 “ bed, he conjured him on his knees to
 “ tell him who that person was who was

* M. de Voltaire says in the *Melanges historiques*—
 “ This anecdote was often related by M. Riouffe, late
 “ commissary of war at Cannes. In his youth he had
 “ seen the prisoner, when they carried him from Saint
 “ Marguerite to the Bastille. He was living last year,
 “ and may be alive now.” “ The marquis d’Argens,
 “ whose veracity is known, long ago heard this fact,
 “ both from M. Riouffe, and some of the principal per-
 “ sons in the province.”

† This was written in the year 1760. It has been
 imagined that he meant the late maréchal de Richlieu.

“ only

“ only known by the name of *the man*
 “ *with the iron mask* ; but he replied, that
 “ it was a secret of state, which he had
 “ sworn never to divulge.—In short,
 “ many of my cotemporaries, who are
 “ yet living, can depose to the truth of
 “ what I advance ; and I know not any
 “ fact more extraordinary, or better as-
 “ certained.”

Monfieur de Voltaire fays afterwards
 in another place *, “ The author of the
 “ Age of Lewis XIV (meaning him-
 “ self) is the first who spoke of *the man*
 “ *with the iron mask*, in an *averred*
 “ *hiftery* †. He did fo, becaufe he was
 “ well informed of that anecdote, which
 “ astonifhes the prefent age, will astonifh
 “ pofterity, and is but too true. The
 “ author was deceived with refpect to

* Melanges.

† He fays in an *averred hiftery*, as the *memoires de Perfe*,
 where this circumftance is mentioned, was publifhed
 before the Siecle de Louis XIV.

“ the date of the death of this singu-
 “ larly unfortunate person; he was
 “ buried at Saint Paul's, the 3d * March
 “ 1703, and not in 1704.

“ He had been first confined at Pignerol,
 “ was sent to Saint Marguerite, and after-
 “ wards to the Bastile, and always under
 “ the care of the same Monsieur de Saint
 “ Mars, who saw him die. Father
 “ Griffet, the Jesuit, has communicated
 “ to the public the journal of the Bastile,
 “ which bears testimony to the dates.
 “ He easily got this journal, as he had
 “ the nice charge of confessing the prisoners
 “ there †.

“ Monsieur de Chamillard, to get rid
 “ of the questions of the late *maréchal de*
 “ *la Feuillade* and M. de Caumartin, said
 “ sometimes, that the prisoner was a person

* M. de Voltaire is again incorrect, and yet it was
 easy for him to have been informed; the prisoner died
 on the 19th, and was buried on the 20th of November
 1703.

† *Mélanges.*

“ who

“ who knew the secrets of the *surintendant*
 “ *Fouquet*, which was avowing at least
 “ that he was confined not long after the
 “ death of the cardinal de Mazarin. But
 “ why such unheard-of precautions for a
 “ confidant of M. de Fouquet*?

The marquis de Torcy, who died in 1745, was made one of the secretaries of state in 1696, and continued in office during the remainder of the reign of Louis XIV.—He therefore unquestionably knew the secret.—Several persons who were acquainted with him have informed me, that when it was spoken of, he either made no reply, or turned off the conversation to something else; but being pressed one day by a lady, an intimate friend of his, now living, he then answered seriously, by desiring her not to speak to him any more upon the subject,

* *Melanges.*

as it was a secret of state that he had sworn not to reveal.

The Abbé Papon says *; "On the 2d
" of February 1778, I had the curiosity
" to visit the room of that unfortunate
" prisoner. It is lighted by only one
" window to the north, through a wall
" extremely thick, and secured by three
" iron grates placed at equal distances
" from each other. It looks towards the
" sea. I found in the citadel an officer
" in the independent company there,
" seventy-nine years of age. He told me,
" that his father, who had served in the
" same company, had often related to
" him, that a young lad, a barber, hav-
" ing seen one day something white
" floating on the water, took it up: it
" was a very fine shirt, written almost

* See Voyage de Provence par M. l'Abbé Papon;
nouvelle edition, premiere partie, page 382.

“ all over :—He carried it to M. de Saint
 “ Mars, who having looked at some parts
 “ of the writing, asked the lad, with an
 “ appearance of anxiety, if he had not
 “ had the curiosity to read it. He assured
 “ him repeatedly, that he had not; but,
 “ two days afterwards, he was found
 “ dead in his bed. This circumstance had
 “ been so frequently told to the officer,
 “ both by his father, and by the chaplain
 “ of the castle at the time, that he firmly
 “ believed it.”

“ The governor, desirous that a woman
 “ should attend the prisoner, one from the
 “ village of Mongin came and offered
 “ herself, in hopes that it would be the
 “ means of making the fortune of her
 “ family; but when she was informed
 “ that she must renounce every commu-
 “ nication with the world, she refused to
 “ be shut up with a person whose ac-
 “ quaintance was to be purchased at so
 “ dear a rate.”

“ The man, who served the prisoner
“ dying, as the father of the officer I
“ have mentioned enjoyed a certain share
“ of the confidence of Monsieur de Saint
“ Mars, he was employed by him, to go
“ at midnight, and bring out the body
“ to the burying-ground; he told his son,
“ that he thought it was the prisoner him-
“ self, but he found it was the person
“ who had served him; and it was on this
“ occasion the governor wanted a woman
“ to attend him in his stead.”

M. de la Borde informs us, that M.
Linguet*, in the course of his enquiries,
found,

“ That the prisoner wore a mask of
“ velvet, and not of iron, at least while
“ he was at the Bastile.

“ That the governor frequently served
“ him himself, and took away his linen.

* M. Linguet was sent to the Bastile on the 27th of
September 1780, and released the 19th of May 1782:

“ That,

“ That, when he went to mass, he had
“ the most express orders, not to speak,
“ or shew himself; that the invalids were
“ commanded to fire on him if he dis-
“ obeyed; that their arms were loaded
“ with ball; and that he therefore took
“ great care to conceal himself, and to be
“ silent.

“ That, when he died, they burnt
“ every thing that had been used by him;
“ took up the floor of his room; took
“ down the ceiling; examined every where
“ to see if he had not concealed some
“ piece of paper or linen; in short, tried to
“ discover if he had not left some trace of
“ himself behind.” He says, “ M. Lin-
“ guet assured me, that there were yet per-
“ sons at the Bastile who learned these
“ circumstances from their fathers, who
“ were ancient servants of the place, and
“ had seen the prisoner.”

Monfieur de la Borde* was firft valet de chambre to Louis XV.—The king frequently converfed with him. Relating to the king one day an anecdote of the *mafque de fer*, the king faid, “I fee you
“ wifh me to tell you something on that
“ fubject—You will never know it, but
“ you may be affured that the confine-
“ ment of that unfortunate perfon did no
“ injury to any one but himfelf, nor had
“ he ever either wife or child.”

The abbé Soulavie, author of Memoirs of the Maréchal de Richlieu, fpeaking on this fubject, fays, “ That he once obferved
“ to the Maréchal, that he certainly had
“ the means of being informed who the
“ prifoner was; that it even feemed that
“ he had told Voltaire, who durft not venture to publifh the fecret; and that he at

* Now living at Paris, and author of excellent maps on ancient and modern Tufcany, dominions of the pope, Naples, and Sicily—and other works.

“ last asked him, whether he was not the
“ elder brother of Louis the XIVth, born
“ without the knowledge of Louis the
“ XIIIth? That the Maréchal seemed em-
“ barrased, but afterwards said, that he was
“ neither the *bastard* brother of Louis the
“ XIVth, nor the duke of Monmouth, nor
“ the count of Vermandois, nor the duke
“ of Beaufort, as different authors had ad-
“ vanced; that their conjectures were no-
“ thing but reveries; but added, that they
“ however had related many circumstances
“ that were true; that in fact the order
“ was given to put the prisoner to death if
“ he discovered himself; and that he finish-
“ ed the conversation by saying, *All I can*
“ *tell you on the subject, is, that the prisoner*
“ *was not of such consequence when he died*
“ *at the beginning of the present century, as*
“ *he had been at the beginning of the reign*
“ *of Louis the XIVth, and that he was shut*
“ *up for important reasons of state.*” The
abbé Soulavie tells us, that he wrote down

what had been said, and gave it to the Maréchal to read, who corrected some expressions. The Abbé having proposed some further questions, he answered, "*Read what Voltaire published last on the subject of the prisoner with the mask, especially at the end, and reflect on it*.*"

I shall now proceed to lay before the reader, the different opinions that have been entertained about this prisoner, and enquire into the degree of credit they may deserve.

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT.

It has been by some supposed that he was the duke of Beaufort, second son of Cæsar duke of Vendome, son of Henry the fourth, by Gabriele d'Etrées, created duchess of Beaufort. His eldest brother was Louis

* See the end of Appendix, N° VI.

duke of Vendome and Mercœur, who got himself made a cardinal after the death of his wife Laura Mancini, niece of the cardinal de Mazarin, by whom he had the celebrated duke of Vendome and the *Grand Prieur*.

The duke of Beaufort was born in the year 1611. During the minority of Louis XIV he was one of the chiefs of the party called the *Frondeurs*, when those who were attached to the court were named *les Mazarins*. Being accused of a design to kill the cardinal de Mazarin, he was arrested, and shut up in the castle of Vincennes; but he made his escape, and put himself at the head of the people of Paris, from whence he was called *Le Roi des Halles*, or King of the Market Places. He is described to have been tall, well-made, expert in all bodily exercises, brave, and indefatigable in whatever he undertook. In 1652 he killed in a duel his brother-in-law, the duke of Nemours.

He

He was afterwards reconciled with the court, and employed in his office of Great Admiral. In 1669 he went with succours to Candy, then besieged by the Turks, and was killed in an attack on the enemy on the 25th of June of that year. His body was never found by the Christians. The Marquis de Saint André Montbrun, who was present, gives the following account of his death :

“ M. de Beaufort did not wait till it was
“ day, to give the signal for the attack. The
“ French were thrown into disorder ; and
“ while he was running about endeavouring
“ to rally the troops, he fell, and was con-
“ founded amongst the dead. It was never
“ known how he was killed, but it is cer-
“ tain that the Grand Vizir sent his head
“ to Constantinople, where it was carried
“ three days successively through the streets
“ on the end of a lance, as a mark of the
“ defeat of the Christians.”

His

His body, however, having never been found, and curiosity being unable to discover who the prisoner with the mask was, some persons at last imagined it *might* be the duke of Beaufort; and the notion was in some measure confirmed by the letter from Monsi. de la Grange Chancel to Fre-ron, that has been already quoted. He says,

“ Monsieur de la Motte Guerin, who
 “ commanded at Saint Marguerite while I
 “ was there, assured me, that this prisoner
 “ was the duke of Beaufort, who was said
 “ to have been killed at the siege of Candy,
 “ and whose body, according to all the ac-
 “ counts of that time, was never found.

“ If we consider the turbulent spirit of
 “ the duke of Beaufort, and the part he
 “ acted in the commotions at Paris in the
 “ time of the *Fronde*, it may not appear
 “ surprising that the court took this violent
 “ measure to secure his person, especially
 “ as his place of Great Admiral put it daily
 “ in

“ in his power to cross the designs of
“ Monsieur Colbert, who had the direction
“ of the marine department. This Admi-
“ ral, who was thought so dangerous, was
“ succeeded by the count de Vermandois,
“ the king's son by Madame de la Va-
“ liere.”

But the duke of Beaufort had made his peace with the court many years before his death; had been employed on different expeditions, and acquitted himself with fidelity and zeal. In 1669, the year in which he was killed, Louis XIV was in the plenitude of his power; party and opposition were at an end; the influence of the parliaments was gone; and the king might surely, either have commanded the duke of Beaufort to resign his office of Great Admiral, or sent him to a prison of state. Nor need he have feared the opinion of the public. Nothing was wanting but his will. There was evidently no occasion, therefore, to observe such extreme mystery about the duke

duke of Beaufort; and though he was a person of high rank, he was not entitled to the degree of respect that was uniformly shewn to the prisoner with the mask.

Monsieur de la Grange Chancel says, that *they gave him as rich clothes as he desired*. Several accounts shew, that he was fond of extremely fine linen and lace, and that pains were taken to procure them for him *. Monsieur de Saint Foix observes, that several memoirs mention the duke of Beaufort as always coarsely dressed, and say, that the neglect of his person went to uncleanness. It would have been very extraordinary, therefore, if in his old age, when habits, and especially those that encourage indolence, generally increase, he should have taken a turn so entirely opposite.

Monsieur de Palteau † observes, that the peasants he examined, who had seen the prisoner in his way from Saint Marguerite

* See page 267.

† See page 264.

to the Bastile, saw, when he had his mask on, his lips and teeth. This was in 1698; the duke of Beaufort would then have been about 87, and it appears that he had lost his teeth when he was about 53.—Madame de Choisi then said of him, in speaking of his having been in a passion, and alluding to his having lost his teeth, *Monsieur de Beaufort voudroit mordre et ne le peut pas*. The same peasants said that the prisoner had white hair: but, besides that this frequently happens at an early age, if we allow, which I think we must do, that the prisoner was sent to Pignerol in 1661, we may conclude that when he was at Palteau in 1698, he was about 60.

The prisoner is represented to have been, in the early part of his confinement, a handsome young man, of a graceful figure. The duke of Beaufort, when he was killed in 1669, was above sixty; and in 1703, the year in which the prisoner died, he would have been about 92. In the parish-register,

register, the prisoner is said to have been 45 at his death. Though we may well suppose, that the age inserted in the register was not the real age, yet he is nowhere mentioned as a person extremely old: and if the minister, or the governor of the Bastile, had said 45 for a person who was 92, the imposition would not only have been gross, but ridiculous.

THE COUNT DE VERMANDOIS.

Louis XIV had, by the celebrated duchess de la Valiere *, Louis de Bourbon, born

* Louise Françoise de la Beaume la Valiere was created duchess de la Valiere by Louis XIV. She retired to a convent of carmelite nuns at Paris in April 1674; took the habit in June following; made her profession, and took the black veil in June 1675, under the name of sister Louise de la Misericorde. She died at noon on the 6th of June 1710, aged 65 years and 10 months, and in the 36th year after her having taken the veil.

She

born the 27th December 1663, who died the 15th of July 1666. Mary Ann, called Mademoiselle de Blois, who was born in 1666, was married in 1680 to Louis Armand, prince of Conti, and died in 1739; and Louis de Bourbon, count de Vermandois, born October 2d 1667, and created Great Admiral of France in 1669.

The count de Vermandois is represented as having been affectionate, polite, and to have partaken greatly, in his manner and

She never felt but two passions,—her love to Louis, and her devotion to her God:—both were extreme, but tempered by that gentleness that was so conspicuous in her character, and by an entire resignation of her own will. The former was in the end completely absorbed by the latter, in the real, or imaginary, duties of which she was constantly employed. Her constitution was at last entirely worn out, and the latter part of her life tormented by sickness, and shortened by watching and fatigue. In the night preceding her death, she stole secretly to the choir; but her strength failed her; she was found lying in the way, was brought back, and not many hours afterwards she expired.

person,

person, of that native grace which so much distinguished his mother*.

* Choisy says, "Mademoiselle de la Valiere n'étoit pas de ces beautés toutes parfaites, qu'on admire souvent sans les aimer. Elle étoit fort aimable, et ce vers de la Fontaine,

"*Et la grace, plus belle encore que la beauté,*
"semble avoir été fait pour elle. Elle avoit le teint beau, les cheveux blonds, le sourire agréable, les yeux bleus, et le regard si tendre, et en même tems si modeste, qu'elle gaignoit le cœur et l'estime au même moment."

The same may almost be said of her wit as of her beauty; without being brilliant, it always pleased.—We, even now, feel a sort of passion for Madame de la Valiere, but none for Madame de Fontanges or de Montespan, who were more perfect beauties.—The following is an extempore of Madame de la Valiere.—Louis XIV, when on a hunting party, wrote a note to her. It was on a card, which happened to be the deuce of diamonds. *Carreaux*, or diamonds, signifies likewise the darts that represent the thunder of Jove. She reproaches him for not having taken the two of hearts.

Pour m'écrire avec plus de douceur,

Il falloit choisir un deux de cœur :

Les carreaux ne sont faits, ce me semble,

Que pour servir Jupiter en courroux ;

Mais deux cœurs vraiment unis ensemble,

Peuvent-ils rien s'annoncer que de doux !

His father was passionately fond of him ; but, about the end of 1682, he fell under his displeasure, on account of some youthful improprieties. His brother-in-law, the prince of Conti, had carried him to sup with some young persons, who were remarkable for their licentiousness. The king, being informed of it, exiled the prince of Conti to his house in the country, and ordered the count de Vermandois not to appear in his presence. He was not permitted to come to court till the month of October 1683, when he was going to the army to make his first campaign. During the few days he remained, he seemed much affected at having offended, and, as he thought, lost the affections of, his father. Madame de Montespan and Mademoiselle * de Monpensier were suspected of having fomented the king's re-

* Daughter to Gaston, duke of Orleans, and cousin to Louis XIV.

sentment : the last had become passionately fond of the duke of Maine*, and affected to adopt him as her son ; and they seem both to have been jealous of the king's fondness for the children of Madame de la Valiere ; whom he always spoke of with tenderness, and whom every one esteemed †.

The count de Vermandois in October joined the army before Courtrai, that was commanded by the maréchal d'Humieres. He fell ill on the 12th of November ; on the day following, his disorder was declared to be a putrid fever, which had already made some progress, as he had concealed it that he might be present at an attack.

* Son to Louis XIV by Madame de Montespan.

† Madame de Sevigny, speaking of Madame de Fontanges, says ; “ Elle est toujours languissante, mais “ si touchée de la grandeur, qu'il faut l'imaginer pre-
 “ cisement le contraire de *cette petite violette* (Madame
 “ de la Valiere) *qui se cachoit sous l'herbe*, et qui étoit
 “ honteuse d'être maitressée, d'être mere, d'être du-
 “ chesse ; jamais il n'y en aura sur ce moule.”

The maréchal dispatched to the minister an account of his illness, and afterwards of his death, which happened on the 18th. The body was sent with a funeral convoy to Arras, and, on the 25th, was buried in the cathedral church there, with much pomp and ceremony. During the short time he served, he had given proofs of his talents and courage; his genius seemed directed to the profession of arms; he had already become popular with the soldiers; his death was universally lamented in the camp, and the news of it deeply affected the king, who, it is said, now too late regretted that he had sent him away, apparently under his displeasure.

The painful task of announcing it to his mother, was committed to the celebrated M. de Bossuet. He went to the convent of the Carmelites, and desired to see her alone. He spoke to her like one who partook her feelings, who knew the human heart, and who also knew the resour-

ces that are to be found in religion against calamity. Whilst he was speaking, she uttered not a sigh; but she grew uncommonly pale; and the eyes of sister Louise, that had long wept for the passion of the generous and affectionate duchess de la Valliere, were now without a tear. Monsieur de Bossuet was alarmed; but the mother collecting all her strength, and falling before her crucifix, said in a low and faltering voice, *faut-il, mon Dieu, que je pleure sa mort, avant que d'avoir assez pleuré sa naissance.*

Such is the short history of a short life—*The romance is longer.*—We are told, in the *Memoires secrets pour servir pour l'histoire de Perse*, and in several other publications, “that the count de Vermandois was beautiful in his countenance, graceful in his person, elegant in his manners, possessed a degree of wit above his years; but that he was ardent in his passions, ambitious, haughty, and violent: that the dauphin, who was nearly

of the same age, but of a mild disposition, became the object of his jealousy: that in a fit of anger he one day struck him in the presence of some of their attendants: that this circumstance being reported to the king, he assembled the council to consult upon what was to be done: that the members were unanimously of opinion, that the dignity of the crown required an immediate punishment for an offence, which even among private persons could only be expiated by death; but that the feelings of the father opposing the sentiments of the sovereign, Monsieur de Louvois suggested an expedient that was approved: that the count de Vermandois, in consequence of his advice, was ordered to join the army; that soon after his arrival at the camp, it was given out he was taken ill; that to discourage too near enquiries, the disorder was said to be an infectious fever: that his death was publicly announced, and the obsequies performed: that a block of wood

was

was put into the coffin instead of the body : and that while this solemn farce was performing, the unfortunate count de Vermandois, was on the road to Pignerol, to be shut up for the rest of his days."

This fable carries on the face of it such marks of absurdity, and contains circumstances so opposite to well known facts, that I cannot help being surprized that it should have obtained the serious attention of such an author as Father Griffet*.

The dauphin was six years older than the count de Vermandois; he was born the 1st of November 1661, and when the supposed blow was given in 1683, he was 22, was married, and father of the duke of Burgundy. Monsieur de Saint Foix very aptly observes, that *it was not two boys playing together*: and when we consider the dignity of the court of Louis the XIVth,

* See Traité de preuves qui servent à établir la vérité de l'Histoire, par le Pere Griffet.

the politeness and ceremony for which it was conspicuous, and the improbability that a prince of the reserved character and measured conduct of the first dauphin should do, or say any thing, to provoke such an act of violence, we must allow it to be at least very unlikely. The duke of Saint Simon, who lived at the court of Louis the XIVth, gives a very particular account of the first dauphin; he says, "Il n'avoit pu souffrir M. de Maine," but not a word of any misunderstanding with M. de Vermandois. But if the circumstance had really happened as the author of the romance has related, was it any reparation for the offence, to send the count de Vermandois to the army in a manner suitable to his rank? to have it reported that he was dead? and the king to affect affliction? Such conduct might gratify secret revenge, but could neither serve to repair the injured honour of the dauphin, nor as an example to the public.

Mademoiselle

Mademoiselle de Monpensier says* :—

“ They received an account that the army,
“ which had done nothing during the
“ campaign, had besieged Courtrai. Mon-
“ sieur de Vermandois went to join it;
“ likewise Monsieur de Lauzun. Monsieur
“ de Vermandois was but lately returned
“ to court. The king, displeased at his
“ having been in some debauch, refused to
“ see him. He therefore lived extremely
“ retired, saw nobody, and only went out
“ to go to the academy and to mass.—
“ Those with whom he had kept company
“ were not agreeable to the king; yet
“ these are stories one neither knows, nor
“ desires to know. This affair gave much
“ pain to Madame de la Valiere. He had
“ been well lectured; he made a general
“ confession of his faults; and it is thought
“ he would have turned out a very excel-

* Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Monpensier, daughter of Gaston duke of Orleans, brother to Louis the XIIIth.

“ lent

“lent man.—After the king’s recovery *,
 “I went to Eu—Madame de Montespan
 “sent a courier thither with a letter, in-
 “forming me of the death of M. de Ver-
 “mandois, and that the king had given his
 “place of Admiral to the count de Tou-
 “louse †.

“He fell sick at the siege of Courtrai,
 “from having drank too freely of brandy.
 “They say that he gave proofs of great
 “courage; and they speak of his wit and
 “conduct as is customary in speaking of
 “those we love. For my part I was not
 “afflicted at his death; I was glad that *these*
 “*things* would not stand in the way of the
 “duke of Maine ‡.

“Monsieur de Lauzun spoke of no-
 “thing but the loss the king and the

* He had fallen from his horse in hunting at Fontainebleau, and dislocated his arm.

† Son of Madame de Montespan by Louis the XIVth.

‡ Another son of Madame de Montespan.

“ state had sustained by his death, and
 “ exalted him above every one. I desired
 “ him to moderate his praises, and leave
 “ us the power of believing them, for
 “ that one of his age could not pos-
 “ sibly have all the qualities he ascribed
 “ to him. He seemed to me, to speak in
 “ that manner, with the view of lower-
 “ ing the duke of Maine.”

Madame la Presidente d’Osembrai, who
 seems to have been well informed of the
 events of those times, says, in a letter to
 Monsieur de Buffy Rabutin :

“ They have just lost the count de
 “ Vermandois, who is infinitely regretted.
 “ He had given hopes of becoming a
 “ prince far superior to what we usually
 “ see, and his death is universally la-
 “ mented. You can scarcely imagine
 “ how liberal he was, and how much
 “ he sought opportunities of gratifying
 “ his generosity. He often laid wagers
 “ he was sure of losing, with persons
 “ who,

“ who, though they wanted, he knew
 “ would refuse money; or he had it
 “ conveyed to them in such a manner,
 “ that they could never discover from
 “ whom it came. It appears that, in or-
 “ der to be present at an intended attack,
 “ he concealed his fever three days. After
 “ this you may conceive how much the
 “ king is afflicted—The princess of Conti*
 “ is inconsolable—Madame de la Valiere
 “ is constantly prostrated before her cru-
 “ cifix—And they bear their share of this
 “ calamity at the Hotel de Condé, as his
 “ marriage with Mademoiselle de Bourbon
 “ was almost entirely arranged †.”

In the memoirs of mademoiselle de Mon-
 pensier, and in the above letter from
 Madame d’Osembrai, there is no hint at

* Sister to M. de Vermandois.

† M. de Saint Foix observes, that Madame d’Osem-
 brai could have no motive of particular attachment or
 dislike, but wrote what was generally said at court and
 at Paris.

that

that violence of character, which the authors of the romance have found it necessary to impute to him ; nor of the blow that is supposed to have been the cause of his misfortunes.—Yet surely, had either of these existed, they would have been known, and taken notice of. Mademoiselle de Monpensier could not possibly have been ignorant of them ; and so little disposed was she to conceal his faults, that she seems to charge him with one, of which, it appears, he was by no means guilty.—She ascribes his illness to *his having drank too much brandy* ; and as she says nothing more, it might have left the impression that, at that early age, he was addicted to the lowest species of a degrading vice, had not the stain been wiped off by her own expressions, and the praises and regret of every one who had approached him. She owns, with more frankness than humanity, that she was not afflicted at his death, as *those things*,—meaning evidently

evidently his qualities,—would no longer stand in the way of her favourite, the duke of Maine.

Monfieur de Goffas, a pious ecclefiastic, whom Madame de la Valiere had placed about her fon, accompanied him to the army, attended him during his illnefs, was with him when he expired, and during the reft of his days, lamented the lofs of *his amiable young mafter*.

M. de Lauzun was at the fiege of Courtrai; he certainly muft have had opportunities of obferving the behaviour of M. de Vermandois, and of knowing the circumftances of his death; yet, to the perfon who was paffionately in love with him*, to whom it is fupposed he was privately married, and with whom it is probable he would fpeak without referve, not a fyllable is faid by him that conveys an idea of myftery; and fo far from

* Mademoifelle de Monpenfier.

speaking disadvantageously of his morals or his temper, he was lavish in his praise.

As I wish to state the subject impartially, I shall take notice of what has been said by Monsieur de la Beaumelle, in his *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire de Madame de Maintenon*; though I must observe, that he is often incorrect, and sometimes contradicts himself. In one part he speaks unfavourably of Monsieur de Vermandois, and says, that "his repentance was not sincere." In another place he observes:

"Mademoiselle de Blois, qui a fait si
"long tems les delices de la cour de France,
"eut les grace de la Valiere, la beauté de
"Louis, le cœur et l'esprit de l'un, et
"l'autre. Le comte de Vermandois,
"qui leur fut trop tôt ravi, promettoit la
"même ressemblance."

He again informs us:

"The king forgave him all. Monsieur
"de Vermandois followed him to the
"siege of Courtrai. He there gave proofs
"of

“ of his courage ; by his profusion he
“ was beloved by the soldiers ; and he
“ excited the jealousy of the Dauphin,
“ with whom he had some misunderstanding :
“ but those are things, says Made-
“ moiselle de Monpensier, that we neither
“ know, nor wish to know.

“ It was reported in the camp, that
“ Monsieur de Vermandois died in the
“ night of the 18th of November, some
“ said of a malignant fever, others of the
“ small-pox, others of having drank too
“ much brandy. He was carried to Arras,
“ and buried in the cathedral church,
“ without pomp ; however, early in
“ the morning a covered litter was seen
“ going out of the camp, which was said
“ to contain the military chest ; but as it
“ went a bye-road, there was an idea
“ that it contained a prisoner of import-
“ ance.

“ They spoke differently of his abilities
“ and conduct ; but it appears by all the
“ memoirs

“ memoirs of those times, that no one
 “ entertained a doubt of his death.”

Courtrai surrendered to the maréchal d'Humieres the 6th of November 1683. The king was not with the army, and therefore M. de Vermandois could not have followed him thither: neither was the Dauphin, but at court; therefore he could not have been witness of his popularity with the soldiers, nor have had any misunderstanding with him there, on that or any other account. Mademoiselle de Monpensier no-where speaks of any quarrel between them, and the words the author has quoted, relates directly, as we have already shewn, to the youthful improprieties that had incurred the king's displeasure.

He says, *that it appears by all the memoirs of those times, that no one entertained any doubt of his death*, and yet he talks of a litter that was sent out of the camp in so mysterious a manner, that, incorrect and

inconsistent as he is on this subject, what he has said has been made use of to support the fiction:—so easily do men in general seize any thing that coincides with a notion they have once entertained, or wish to establish.

Monfieur de Saint Foix tells us, that he wrote purposely to Arras, in order that he might gain certain information of what passed with respect to the burial of the count de Vermandois, and he has given us what is proved by the records of the cathedral of that city.

“ From his MAJESTY.

“ To our dearly and well-beloved the
“ Dean, Canons, and Chapter of our
“ cathedral-church of Arras.

“ Dear and well beloved!—Having
“ been informed, to our great affliction,
“ that our dear and well-beloved son the
“ count de Vermandois is deceased at
“ the

“ the town of Courtrai, and desiring that
“ his body should be placed in our cathe-
“ dral church of Arras, we do instruct
“ the bishop of Arras, to receive the body
“ of our said son, when it shall be brought
“ to the said church, and to inhume it
“ with the ceremonies used at the inter-
“ ments of persons of his birth; and you
“ will assist, as a body, at the said cere-
“ mony.

Signed

“ LOUIS:

and lower

“ Le TELLIER.”

“ In 1600, it was discovered that Eliza-
“ beth countess of Vermandois, wife of
“ Philip of Alsace count of Flanders, and
“ great grand-daughter of Henry I, king
“ of France, who died in 1182, had been
“ buried in the middle of the choir of the
“ cathedral of Arras.—Louis XIV desired
“ that the count de Vermandois should be
“ put in the same vault. This is expressed

X 2

“ in

“ in the epitaph on that prince, under his
“ arms, which are in bas relief in white
“ marble, on a level with the pavement
“ of the church.

“ On the 28th of January 1684, about
“ two months after the funeral of the
“ count de Vermandois, a contract was
“ made at Arras, before a notary, by the
“ intendant, the sieur de Chauvelin, for the
“ king, on one part, and the chapter, on
“ the other; stipulating, that his majesty
“ should pay the chapter the sum of 10,000
“ livres, for the foundation of an obit, in
“ perpetuity, in the cathedral-church at
“ Arras, for the repose of the soul of the
“ said count of Vermandois.

“ In 1687, Louis XIV gave the chap-
“ ter at Arras a complete ornament of black
“ velvet and silver, and a canopy, with the
“ arms of the count de Vermandois em-
“ broidered in gold. This ornament is
“ only used at the funerals of bishops and
“ canons,

“ canons, and on the anniversary of the
“ prince, which is solemnly observed on
“ the 25th of November; on which occa-
“ sion the magistrates and officers of the
“ city are invited to assist, as well as the
“ *lieutenant du roi*, who is obliged to cer-
“ tify that the said ceremony has been per-
“ formed.”

Is it probable, that Louis XIV, who was always inclined to be devout, and in his later years to be superstitious, would have carried on this solemn farce so long, and made the ceremonies of religion subservient to cover an imposture, in no way necessary either to the safety of the state or to the honour of his family? Is it probable, that the Père la Chaise, his spiritual adviser, a just and pious man, would not have made use of the great influence he had over the mind of the king, to prevent what must have been considered by him as a very heinous crime? If the above-mentioned act of violence had really been committed

by the count de Vermandois; if the king had chosen to confine him for that or any other offence, was there any thing to prevent him from doing it? Even in the opinion of the world, the exertion of his authority on such an occasion would have been thought much more excusable, than numberless other instances where he openly employed it.

Those who knew the princess of Conti, never heard that she entertained any doubt about the death of her brother. Monsieur de la Grange Chancel, who was at the island of Saint Marguerite not many years after the prisoner with the mask left it, says nothing of the count de Vermandois, though he speaks of the duke of Beaufort. And, to all these circumstances, I shall add, that a nobleman of great integrity, who was a considerable time one of the principal ministers, informed me, that the vault in which M. de Vermandois was buried, was opened between three and four years ago

ago by his order, and that the skeleton was found in it.

THE DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

Incredible as this opinion may seem to an English reader, it gained considerable belief at Paris; and, what is more extraordinary, was supported, and appears to have been credited, by an author of reputation, Monsieur de Saint Foix. It seems to have taken its rise from reports of some of those who followed James II to Saint Germain. They said, that Charles II, aware of his son's ambition and imprudence, demanded, on his death-bed, a solemn promise from his successor, that, whatever might be the offence of the duke of Monmouth, he never would consent to his being put to death. That James complied; and, faithful to his word, resolved to save him: but, thinking it necessary that he should for ever after be

prevented from disturbing the peace of the kingdom, applied to Louis XIV to have him secretly confined in France: that Monmouth was accordingly sent thither, and that a person, who had likewise been condemned, suffered in his stead, and represented him on the scaffold.

We shall now state the chief articles that have been advanced on this subject by Monsieur de Saint Foix.—He says,

“ Immediately after the death of the
“ duke, it being rumoured that it was an
“ officer of his army who had been be-
“ headed in his stead, *Lady Wentworth*,
“ having procured his grave to be opened,
“ examined his right arm, and exclaimed,
“ *Ab! it is not him.*

“ It is related, in a book called *The*
“ *Amours of Charles II and James II*,
“ that, some days after James quitted the
“ kingdom, *Colonel Skelton*, who had been
“ governor of the Tower, (but was re-
“ moved by the prince of Orange, who
“ gave

“ gave it to *Lord Lucas*,) told *Lord Danby*,
“ that the night after the pretended execu-
“ tion of the duke of Monmouth, the
“ king, accompanied by three other per-
“ sons, came to the Tower, and took the
“ duke away; that they covered his head
“ with a kind of hood; and that the king,
“ and those three persons, went out in the
“ same coach with him.

“ I am aware of the little regard that
“ should be had to publications of the kind
“ I have quoted, whose authors endeavour
“ to obtain the attention of their readers
“ by mixing with their fictions a few
“ truths; but this anecdote, true or false,
“ made me reflect on what the Pere Tour-
“ nemine had several times told to myself
“ and many others. He said, that having
“ gone one day to visit the duchess of
“ Portsmouth, with Father Sanders the con-
“ fessor of king James, she observed, in the
“ course of conversation, that the behead-
“ ing of the duke of Monmouth would be
“ an

“ an eternal stain on the memory of James;
“ for she knew that while Charles the II^d
“ was on his death-bed, and about to take
“ the sacraments, which had been secretly
“ brought to him by Huddleston, a catholic
“ priest, James solemnly promised before
“ the *host*, that whatever might be the of-
“ fences of the duke of Monmouth, he ne-
“ ver would allow him to be put to death:
“ to which Sanders replied, with great vi-
“ vacity, *neither did he.*

“ Nelaton, an English surgeon, often
“ told publicly at the *Procope* coffee-house,
“ which he frequented every morning, that
“ when he was assistant to a surgeon near
“ the gate *Saint Antoine*, he was one day
“ sent for to the Bastile. That the go-
“ vernor conducted him into the room of
“ a prisoner who had his face and head
“ covered with a long napkin. That he
“ complained of violent head-achs. That
“ he wore a bed-gown of black and yel-
“ low silk, with gold flowers; and that by
“ his

“ his accent he appeared to be an English-
“ man.”

Monfieur de Saint Foix refers to a passage in the history of England by Hume, who, speaking of the popularity of Monmouth, says: “ The good-will of the people still followed him in every fortune. Even after his execution, their fond credulity flattered them with hopes of seeing him once more at their head. They believed that the person executed was not Monmouth, but one who having the fortune to resemble him nearly, was willing to give this proof of his extreme attachment, and to suffer death in his stead.”

Saint Foix, answering some objections of Father Griffet to the story told by Father Tournemine, observes :

“ Father Tournemine was of an illustrious family of the province in which I was born; I saw him frequently, and I was of an age, and had sufficient knowledge of the world, to be able to form
“ an

“ an opinion of men.—Without being led
“ away by the affection I bear to his me-
“ mory, I may affirm, that he enjoyed a
“ high reputation over all Europe; that he
“ was loved, esteemed, and respected, both
“ at court and at Paris, and considered as
“ one of the most distinguished of an or-
“ der, which, it cannot be denied, has pro-
“ duced men of great merit. Burnet tells
“ us, that Charles II was passionately fond
“ of the duke of Monmouth; that, when
“ he was dying, the host was brought se-
“ cretly to his bedchamber; that he receiv-
“ ed the sacrament from the hands of a
“ catholic priest*; that the duchess of
“ Portsmouth was present; and that he
“ warmly recommended his natural child-
“ ren to his successor. These circumstances
“ corroborate the greatest part of what was

* From a priest named Huddleston, as before men-
tioned. See a letter signed *J. Aprice*, dated February
16, 1685, in Harris's life of Charles II; besides several
other testimonies.

“ related

“ related by Father Tournemine; and such
“ being the case, why should we reject the
“ rest, I mean the exclamation of Father
“ Sanders?—Because the fact appears in-
“ credible to Father Griffet?—But Griffet
“ was not of that opinion when he says,
“ *If we were sure that the prisoner was*
“ *not conducted to Pignerol till the year*
“ *1685, that date would exclude the duke of*
“ *Beaufort, the count de Vermandois, and*
“ *the unknown person mentioned by Voltaire,*
“ *and we might then be founded in believing*
“ *him to be the duke of Monmouth.*”

In further confirmation of the opinion he has adopted, Monsieur de Saint Foix informs us, “ That Saint Mars was appointed
“ governor of the citadel of Pignerol, ex-
“ pressly when the famous surintendant
“ Fouquet was sent thither: that in 1681
“ he was ordered to accompany Monsieur
“ de Lauzun, another of his prisoners, to
“ the waters at Bourbon, on account of his
“ health; but that Mademoiselle de Mon-
“ pensier

“ pensier having represented to the king
“ that there were frequent misunderstand-
“ ings between them, the order was chang-
“ ed, and an officer named Maupertuis
“ was sent with Monsieur de Lauzun in
“ his stead.” He then endeavours to prove
that St. Mars was absent from Pignerol in
1684; as in that year a dispute happened
between Monsieur d’Herleville, governor
of the town, and Monsieur de la Motte,
lieutenant du roi in the citadel. This, in
his opinion, shews that Monsieur de St.
Mars, the governor of the citadel, must have
been absent, and that the command had in
the mean time devolved, as usual, to the
lieutenant du roi. He infers from these
two circumstances, his being ordered away
in 1681, and absent in 1684, that the pri-
soner with the mask could not then have
been at Pignerol: for, as it appears that this
prisoner was so particularly intrusted to
Saint Mars, that he accompanied him in
his promotions from Pignerol to Saint

Marguerite, and thence to the Bastile; Saint Foix thinks it highly improbable, that Saint Mars should have been ordered to accompany Monsieur de Lauzun in 1681, or allowed to absent himself in 1684, if the prisoner had been at that time under his care. He then says, “ Monsieur de
 “ Saint Mars was appointed to the govern-
 “ ment of the island of Saint Marguerite
 “ in December 1685, which undoubtedly
 “ allows sufficient time for the duke of
 “ Monmouth to have been at Pignerol in
 “ that year, as the execution took place
 “ on the 25th of July.”

I shall now take the liberty to make a few remarks on what has been advanced by Monsieur de Saint Foix; not that I believe they are necessary to convince an English reader that the prisoner with the mask was not the duke of Monmouth, but because there are persons in France that seem, at least, to be doubtful of it.

No

No execution seems to have been ever more public than that of Monmouth, nor, as far as I am acquainted with the transaction, was there any circumstance in it that announced mystery. “ James,” says Mr. Hume, “ finding such symptoms of despondency in the unhappy prisoner, admitted him to his presence, in hopes of extorting a discovery of his accomplices : but Monmouth would not purchase life, however loved, at the price of so much infamy. Finding all efforts vain, he assumed courage* from despair, and prepared himself for death with a spirit better suited to his rank and character. This favourite of the people was attended to the scaffold with a plentiful effusion of tears. He warned the executioner not

* According to Mr. Hume’s own account, the duke of Monmouth was brave.—Therefore it cannot be said that *he assumed courage*, but rather *resumed* his natural character.

“ to fall into the error which he had com-
“ mitted in beheading Ruffel, where it had
“ been necessary to repeat the blow. This
“ precaution served only to dismay the
“ executioner. He struck a feeble blow
“ on Monmouth, who raised his head from
“ the block, and looked him in the face,
“ as if reproaching him for his failure. He
“ gently laid down his head a second time,
“ and the executioner struck him again
“ and again to no purpose. He then threw
“ aside the ax, and cried out, that he was
“ incapable of finishing the bloody office.
“ The sheriff obliged him to renew the at-
“ tempt, and at two blows more the head
“ was severed from the body.”

As the expression of Father Sanders to the duchess of Portsmouth of *neither did he*, meaning *neither did James suffer him to be put to death*, seems to have made an impression on Father Tournemine, and could not have escaped the duchess, to whom it was addressed *with great vivacity*, it seems ex-

traordinary that no explanation was desired, which, had it been demanded, Tournemine would certainly have mentioned. But with all the qualities ascribed to him by M. de Saint Foix, and though a person of great learning, he is represented as having had a warm imagination; and however honest his intention may have been, it is not impossible, that hearing afterwards the conjecture, that the prisoner with the mask was perhaps the duke of Monmouth, he may have construed the expression of Father Sanders into a sense, different from what was meant by it, or that he himself at first conceived.

The conclusion drawn by Monsieur de Saint Foix, that the prisoner could not have been at Pignerol either in 1681 or 1684, though plausible, does not amount to any proof. For supposing Saint Mars to have been ordered to go to Bourbon in 1681, and to have been absent in 1684; in the first instance, as Monsieur de Lauzun was permitted

permitted to go to the waters, it was necessary to send some trusty person along with him; and in 1684, perhaps some pressing circumstances that we may be unacquainted with, rendered the absence of Saint Mars inevitable. There is no good reason for believing that he was never suffered to leave his charge to others.—Even when at his station, the care of the prisoner could not be confided to Saint Mars alone;—he could not constantly attend him;—others must have been sometimes employed about him; one is particularly named, Rosarges, who likewise came with him to the Bastile, and was major of the castle.—Perhaps the *Lieutenant du Roi* at Pignerol, Monsieur de la Motte Riffan, might have been entrusted with the secret as well as Monsieur de Saint Mars. It was the proofs that Saint Mars had given of his resolution and prudence in the course of many years, that induced Monsieur de Louvois, by whom he was particularly patronised, to continue this important pri-

soner under his care, though removed to another government.

In 1703, when the prisoner with the mask died, James was no more; queen Ann sat on his throne, and there could be no motive then to induce the court of France to keep a fact secret, which, if divulged, would have rescued his memory from the reproach of having broken a promise solemnly made to his dying brother. The French ministers must have known how much this prisoner had occupied the curiosity of the public; and among the opinions entertained about him, there were some that they would surely have been glad to have removed, if they could have done so, by proving that he was the unfortunate duke of Monmouth.

A MINI-

A MINISTER OF THE DUKE OF
MANTUA.

As almost every thing that has been advanced to support this opinion, is to be found in the 6th letter of a work published in 1789, called *Correspondance Interceptée*, I shall attempt to translate what the author has said upon it.

“ To treat the subject with method, I
“ shall begin with what the duke of Choi-
“ seul often related to me.—Louis XV
“ told him one day, that he knew the
“ history of the prisoner with the mask.—
“ The duke requested the king to inform
“ him who he was; but he could get no
“ other answer, but that not one of the
“ conjectures about him was true. Some
“ time afterwards, Madame de Pompadour
“ having, at the duke’s desire, pressed
“ the king upon the subject, he told her,
“ that

“ that he was a minister of a prince in
“ Italy.

“ I met by accident with a letter written
“ at Turin, and printed in the Abridgment
“ of the History of Europe, published for
“ Claud Jordan at Leyden, vol. iii. page
“ 33, under the article *Mantua*. The
“ letter sets forth, that, in 1685, the duke
“ of Mantua, wishing to cross the views
“ of the French in Italy, sent his first
“ minister to different courts there, to
“ engage them to form a league against
“ them.

“ This minister, who was an able ne-
“ gociator, succeeded: there only re-
“ mained the duke of Savoy, and he came
“ to Turin, to endeavour to detach him
“ from the French interest. The cabinet
“ of Versailles being informed of his
“ measures, sent instructions thereupon
“ to the ambassador at Turin, the marquis
“ d'Arcy. The ambassador began by af-
“ fecting a friendship for the Minister,
“ and

“ and by shewing him many civilities.
 “ He invited him to parties of amusement,
 “ and at last to a hunt which led them
 “ towards Pignerol, a town then belonging
 “ to France. As soon as they were on
 “ the French territory, the Minister was
 “ seized, by men who had been stationed
 “ there on purpose, carried to Pignerol,
 “ and from thence to the island of Saint
 “ Marguerite, where he remained under
 “ the care of Monsieur de Saint Mars and
 “ major Rosarges, till 1690, when they
 “ received orders to carry him to the
 “ Bastile.

“ I imagined that the disappearance of
 “ a foreign Minister in a manner so ex-
 “ traordinary, would have occasioned a
 “ remonstrance on the part of the duke
 “ of Mantua, and brought on a corre-
 “ spondence, of which I should have
 “ found at least some traces at Mantua or
 “ Turin. I accordingly wrote to Mantua,
 “ but was answered, that when prince

“ Eugene took that place in 1707, the
“ Archives were sent to Vienna. I got
“ permission to have those at Turin ex-
“ amined, but unfortunately, from the
“ year 1660, forty years are wanting.
“ All that I could learn from tradition was,
“ that when the anonymous letter, dated
“ at Turin, was published, the duke of
“ Mantua warmly renewed his complaints;
“ but the ambassador had taken his mea-
“ sures so well, that it was impossible to
“ prove the fact; and as such a manifest
“ violation of the law of nations would
“ have incensed every court in Europe,
“ it was positively denied.

“ But I did not rest here. I obtained
“ from the marquis de Castellane, gover-
“ nor of Saint Marguerite, an extract of
“ enquiries made by him when he took
“ possession of his government.—A man
“ named Claud Souchon, then aged about
“ seventy-nine years, son of James Sou-
“ chon, and a cadet in the independent
“ com-

“ company of Castellane, informed Mon-
 “ sieur de Castellane, that his father James
 “ Souchon was in the confidence* of
 “ Monsieur de Saint Mars, with respect to
 “ the prisoner. He says in a memoir that
 “ has been communicated to me, that he
 “ often heard his father and Monsieur
 “ Favre, the chaplain, relate, that the
 “ prisoner kept with so much mystery at
 “ Saint Marguerite, and called the *iron*
 “ *mask*, was a Minister of the empire at
 “ the court of Turin †. He gives the
 “ history of carrying off the Minister,
 “ with almost all the circumstances men-
 “ tioned in the above letter ‡. He adds,
 “ that

* The words are *dans le secret de Monsieur de Saint Marc a ce sujet*. He always writes *Saint Marc*, but the name, I believe, was *Saint Mars*.

† The author of the *Correspondance Interceptée*, in order, I imagine, to make Claud Souchon appear consistent, adds, in a parenthesis, “it is known that the duke of Mantua was a prince of the empire.”

‡ I am at a loss to say, what may be meant by *almost all the circumstances*; but if it be, the intentions of the duke

“ that he was delivered over to Monsieur
“ de Saint Mars, near Fenistrelles : that
“ Monsieur de Saint Mars obliged him,
“ under pain of death, to write to his
“ secretary at Turin, for his papers ; that
“ on the faith of that letter the secretary
“ came with them, and that they were
“ immediately dispatched to Monsieur de
“ Louvois, and the secretary detained.
“ Souchon contradicts several things af-
“ firmed by Voltaire, and particularly the
“ story of the plate and the fisherman.
“ He denies that the prisoner was sent to
“ the Bastile, and affirms that he died at
“ Saint Marguerite, after nine years con-
“ finement. He likewise contradicts what
“ has been related of the extraordinary
“ marks of respect that were shewn to the
“ prisoner, and which were doubtless in-

duke of Mantua, the negociations of his minister, the instructions given by the cabinet of Versailles, I think it improbable that James Souchon should have been acquainted with them.

“ vented to give a greater appearance of
“ the marvellous to this celebrated anecdote *.

“ Weigh well the connection of all
“ these testimonies, though so distant from
“ each other in time and place:—The
“ letter written at Turin, when the Minister
“ disappeared; the memoir of Souchon;
“ the confession of Louis XV,—all
“ authentic,—all agreeing so well together,
“ and the conjecture that the prisoner with
“ the mask was the first Minister of the
“ duke of Mantua, becomes manifestly
“ evident.

“ I shall not enter into the question,
“ whether he was sent to the Bastile, or
“ died at Saint Marguerite; that is of no

* I think it probable that James Souchon is the officer of the same age mentioned by the Abbe Papon; and that the circumstance of the silver plate found by the fisherman, and the shirt by the barber's lad, may be the same, though confounded and altered in the progress of relating it.

“ import-

“ importance to the essential part of the
“ subject, and neither changes the person
“ or rank of the prisoner. They might
“ have supposed him dead when he was
“ sent to the Bastile, and Souchon might
“ not be acquainted with that part of the
“ secret. In this last case I will not neg-
“ lect to put you in mind of an extract of
“ the journal of the *Lieutenant du Roi* at
“ the Bastile, de Jonca, that was publish-
“ ed some years ago. It is therein said,
“ that on the 19th of November 1703,
“ the prisoner with the mask died at the
“ Bastile, and was buried the day follow-
“ ing in the burying-ground at Saint Paul’s.
“ It is likewise said in the parish register
“ at Saint Paul’s, that on the 20th of
“ November 1703, was interred there a
“ person named *Marchiali*, aged forty-
“ five years, in the presence of the major
“ of the Bastile, Rosarges, and of the
“ surgeon. Rosarges therefore was the
“ same person who had kept the prisoner
“ at

“ at the island of Saint Marguerite *. I
 “ have received information from Mantua,
 “ that the Secretary of State to the duke of
 “ Mantua in 1685, was the count Girol-
 “ amo Magni †; in all probability, the
 “ name of Marchiali was a supposed one,
 “ as they certainly would not give the real
 “ name of the prisoner to be inserted in
 “ the register. But let that be as it may,
 “ surely no passage in history was ever
 “ supported with more evidence, to prove
 “ that the prisoner with the iron mask was
 “ the Minister of the duke of Mantua car-
 “ ried off from Turin.”

My business here, is not to enquire
 whether a Minister of the duke of Mantua
 at the court of Turin, was seized and car-

* Surely; but I do not see how this can prove that
 the prisoner was a Minister of Mantua.

† But if the author's correspondent at Mantua
 could inform him of the name of the Minister in 1685,
 why did he not say what became of him? It was at least
 of as much consequence as his name.

ried to Pignerol, and from thence to Saint Marguerite; but to shew that the prisoner with the mask must have been a different person. In doing so, I hope the author of the *Correspondance Interceptée* will excuse the freedom I may use. We are treating of a mask; we are masked ourselves; nothing can be considered as personal; probably, if I had the honour of knowing him, my esteem for the man might have weakened my resolution to expose the errors of the author; and let it be remembered, that we are speaking of facts, with which, certainly, neither of us can be in any other way interested, than in as far as we wish to throw some light on an obscure, but curious passage in history, or at least to remove the erroneous opinions that have been entertained about it.

Previous to the publication of the *Correspondance Interceptée*, I had already heard that M. de Choiseul had spoken on the subject of the prisoner to Louis XV. I
under-

understood that he had done so at the request of some men of letters, who lived in habits of intimacy with him, and I was told, that, from the king's answer, no information was obtained. After reading that work, I made further enquiry; and what I had been told before, was confirmed to me.—The persons to whom I allude, are well known, and may still be applied to.

It is said, in the *Correspondance Interceptée*, that the duke of Mantua, in 1685, wishing to cross the views of the French in Italy, sent his first Minister to the different courts in that country to engage them to form a league; that the Minister accordingly went, and succeeded in his commission; that there only remained the court of Savoy, and that he came to Turin. For a Minister to go to the different courts in Italy, and to persuade them to come into the views of his master, must certainly have required a considerable time. It must likewise

wife have required time for the cabinet of Versailles to procure information of the measures taken by him ; to send instructions upon them to the ambassador Monsieur d'Arcy ; and for M. d'Arcy to prepare and execute his scheme of seizing the minister and sending him to France. Yet it has been fully proved, that the prisoner with the mask was brought from Pignerol to Saint Marguerite by Monsieur de Saint Mars, upon his appointment to the government of that island, in December 1685, where he must have arrived soon after : and, though it may be possible that all this should have happened in the course of a few months, it is at least highly improbable.

The letter, supposed to have been written at Turin, and published in the abridgement of the history of Europe printed at Leyden, says, that the prisoner with the mask was sent to the Bastile in 1690. Claud Souchon says, that he was not sent

to

to the Bastile, but died at Saint Marguerite, after nine years confinement. The author endeavours to excuse this error, by supposing that the father James Souchon *might not have been in the secret* of his being sent to the Bastile, though surely Monsieur de Saint Mars could have no reason for concealing it from him, after confiding to him that of much more importance, who the prisoner was.—But, even if we admit this excuse, it will by no means reconcile the contradictions that appear in the dates. The supposed letter from Turin says, that he was sent to Saint Marguerite in 1685, and to the Bastile in 1690: Claud Souchon says, that he died at Saint Marguerite after nine years confinement, which would have been in 1694; while it is unquestionably proved, by records and other authentic testimonies, that he was brought to the Bastile in 1698, and died there in 1703.

Father Griffet and Monsieur de Saint Foix, both authors of reputation, say not a

Z

word

word of a Minister of Mantua, though they took great pains to inquire into this subject: and I confess I am inclined to suspect, that they must have thought the supposed letter from Turin unworthy of their serious attention.

Monfieur de la Grange Chancel, who was at the island of Saint Marguerite not a great many years after the prisoner with the mask left it, at the request of M. Fre-ron, gives an account of what he learnt of him there. He tells him of conversations with Monsieur de la Motte Guerin, the governor; with a man who had been confined in the room above the prisoner, a clerk of the famous banker Samuel Barnard; with the nephew of Monsieur de Saint Mars, who was lieutenant in the independent company in which Claud Souchon was a cadet. He supposes him to have been the duke of Beaufort, but says not a word of a Minister of Mantua. The abbé Papon, who was at Saint Marguerite

guerite in February 1778, relates several circumstances of the prisoner: it appears, that he saw, and spoke with, this very Claud Souchon *, but not a word is said of a Minister of Mantua. Yet in 1783, above sixty years after M. de la Grange Chancel had been at Saint Marguerite, this story is told by Claud Souchon to the governor, Monsieur de Castellane, and by him communicated to the author of the *Correspondance Interceptée*; but Claud Souchon forgets to tell it to the abbé Papon in 1778, though he must have had a long conversation with him.

As Monsieur de Saint Mars could not have been constantly with his prisoner himself, one of the persons selected to attend him was Monsieur de Rosarges, who probably knew the secret: but it appears by the journal of Monsieur de Jonca, the *lieutenant du roi* at the Bastille, that Monsieur

* See page 274.

de Saint Mars, so far from communicating it to *him*, though holding the place next to his own, did not even permit him to be alone with the prisoner. Is it likely, therefore, that he should have confided it to James Souchon?

The author of the *Correspondance Interceptée* says, that Claud Souchon contradicts some of the assertions of Voltaire, and the accounts of the great respect that was shewn to the prisoner. Without dwelling on the preference I feel inclined to give to what has been related by M. de Voltaire, to the story told by Claud Souchon, I shall only observe, that if, to what has been already said of that respect, it was thought necessary to add any farther proofs, there are persons now living, who had the circumstances I have mentioned confirmed to them by men of rank and credit who lived at the time.—But Claud Souchon, *who knew that the duke of Mantua was a prince of the empire*, perhaps likewise knew, that
such

such uncommon marks of respect would not have been shewn to his Minister.

Besides the opinions already mentioned, it has been imagined, that the prisoner with the mark was a son of Ann of Austria*, wife of Louis XIII: and this conjecture has given rise to three different opinions, which I shall state according to their dates.

The first is, that the queen proved with child, at a time when it was evident it could not have been by her husband, who, for some months before, had never been with her in private. The supposed father of this child is said by some to have been the duke of Buckingham, who came to France in May 1625, to conduct the prin-

*. She was contracted to Louis XIII in 1612, and married in 1615.

cess Henrietta *, wife of Charles the first, to England. The private letters and memoirs of those times, speak very suspiciously of the queen and Buckingham: his behaviour at Amiens, whither the queen and queen-mother accompanied the princess in her way to Boulogne, *occasioned much whispering*: notwithstanding the pains that have been taken by La Porte † to excuse his mistress, it appears that the king, on this occasion, was extremely offended at her, and that it required all the influence and address of the queen-mother to effect a reconciliation.

* The case of this princess was singularly unfortunate. Her father, Henry the IVth, died by the hand of an assassin; her husband lost his life publicly, by the hand of a subject; her daughter, the celebrated duchess of Orleans, and her grand-daughter, (by that duchess,) who was queen of Spain, were poisoned; there is reason to suspect that her son, Charles the second, had the same fate; and his heir and brother, James, lost his crown, and died a fugitive in a foreign country.

† See Memoires de la Porte, premier valet de chambre de Louis XIV.

It is said, that this child was privately brought up in the country; that when Mazarin became a favourite, he was intrusted with the care of him; and that Louis the XIVth, having discovered the secret on the death of the cardinal, thought it necessary to confine him in the manner that has been related.

But it may be observed, that this secret could scarcely have escaped the vigilance of the cardinal de Richlieu; and it is not improbable, that a minister so little scrupulous, if inclined to save the honour of the queen, would have removed a child, who, if he lived, might have been made use of to disturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. After this supposed birth, the queen had frequent quarrels with the king, and, what was more dangerous, with the cardinal; who even used every means in his power to inquire into her most private transactions. It was on a memorable occasion of this kind, that her servant La Porte was thrown into the

Bastile ; and it can scarcely be imagined she would have had the firmness she then displayed, while conscious of so much guilt, and under the risk of having it discovered.

The prisoner with the mask appears, by several accounts, to have been *a youth of a handsome figure* in the year 1661 ; and in 1703, when he died, to have been above sixty ; but had he been a son of Buckingham, he would have been about thirty-six in 1661, when he could not be said to have *been a youth* ; and in November 1703, above seventy-eight.

The second opinion is, that he was the twin-brother of Louis the XIVth, born some hours after him. I first saw this assertion in a short anonymous work published without date, and without the name of place or printer. It is therein said, “ Louis
“ the XIVth was born at Saint Germain
“ en Laye, on the 5th of September 1638,
“ about noon, and the illustrious prisoner
“ known by the appellation of the *Iron*
“ *Mask,*

“ *Mask*, was born the same day, while
“ Louis the XIIIth was at supper. The
“ king and the cardinal, fearing that the
“ pretensions of a twin-brother might one
“ day be employed to renew those civil wars
“ with which France had been so often af-
“ flicted, cautiously concealed his birth,
“ and sent him away to be brought up
“ privately. Having but an imperfect
“ knowledge of the circumstances that fol-
“ lowed, I shall say nothing more, for fear
“ of committing errors; but I firmly be-
“ lieve the fact I have mentioned, and
“ time will probably prove to my reader,
“ that I have ground for what I have ad-
“ vanced.”

This opinion has been more noticed,
since the publication of a work called *Me-
moires du Maréchal Duc de Richlieu*, written
by the abbé Soulavie*. It may be proper
to apprise our readers, that the present duke

* See page 278.

of Richlieu, son of the maréchal, disavows this work; while the abbé Soulavie, who had been employed by the maréchal, insists on the authenticity of his papers *. He informs us, that the duke of Richlieu was the lover of Mademoiselle de Valois, daughter of the regent duke of Orleans, and afterwards duchess of Modena, who in return was passionately fond of *him*: that the regent had *something more* than a paternal affection for his daughter, and that, though she held his sentiments in abhorrence, the duke of Richlieu made use of her influence with her father to discover the secret of the prisoner with the mask: that the regent, who had always observed the most profound silence on this subject, was at last persuaded to entrust her with a manuscript,

* A letter from the duke of Richlieu, and an answer from the abbé Soulavie, appeared in the Journal de Paris.

which

which she immediately sent to her lover, who took a copy of it.

This manuscript is supposed to have been written by a gentleman on his death-bed, who had been the governor of the prisoner. I shall here give an extract of it, from what the abbé Soulavie has told us.

“ The birth of the prisoner happened in the evening of the 5th of September 1638*, in presence of the chancellor, the bishop of Meaux, the author of the manuscript, a midwife named Peronéte, and a sieur Honorat. This circumstance greatly disturbed the king's mind; he observed, that the Salique law had made no provision for such a case; and that it was even the opinion of some, that the last born was the first conceived, and therefore had a prior right to the other. By the advice of cardinal de Richlieu, it was therefore resolved to conceal his

* This account agrees with that given by the anonymous writer above mentioned, page 344.

birth,

birth, but to preserve his life, in case, by the death of his brother, it should be necessary to avow him. A declaration was drawn up, and signed and sworn to by all present, in which every circumstance was mentioned, and several marks on his body described. This document being sealed by the chancellor with the royal seal, was delivered to the king, and all were commanded, and took an oath, never to speak on the subject, not even in private and among themselves. The child was delivered to the care of Madame Peronéte the midwife, to be under the direction of cardinal de Richlieu, at whose death the charge devolved to cardinal de Mazarin. Mazarin appointed the author of the manuscript his governor, and entrusted to him the care of his education. But as the prisoner was extremely attached to Madame Peronéte, and she equally so to him, she remained with him till her death. His governor carried him to his house in Burgundy, where he
paid

paid the greatest attention to his education.

“ As the prisoner grew up, he became impatient to discover his birth, and often importuned his governor on that subject. His curiosity had been roused, by observing, that messengers from the court frequently arrived at the house; and a box, containing letters from the queen and the cardinal, having one day been inadvertently left out, he opened it, and saw enough to guess at the secret. From that time he became thoughtful and melancholy, “ which,” says the author, “ I could not then account “ for. He shortly after asked me to get “ him a portrait of the late and present “ king, but I put him off, by saying, that “ I could not procure any that were good. “ He then desired me to let him go to “ Dijon, which, I have known since, was “ with an intention of seeing a portrait of “ the king there, and of going secretly to “ Saint John de Lus, where the court then “ was,

“ was, on occasion of the marriage with
“ the infant. He was beautiful; and love
“ helped him to accomplish his wishes.
“ He had captivated the affections of a
“ young housekeeper, who procured him
“ a portrait of the king. It might have
“ served for either of the brothers; and
“ the discovery put him into so violent a
“ passion, that he immediately came to me
“ with the portrait in his hand, saying,
“ *Voila mon frere, et voila qui je suis*, shew-
“ ing me at the same time a letter of the
“ cardinal de Mazarin, that he had taken
“ out of the box.”

“ Upon this discovery, his governor immediately sent an express to court, to communicate what had happened, and to desire new instructions; the consequence of which was, that the governor and the young prince under his care were arrested and confined.”

This memoir, real or fictitious, concludes with saying, “ I have suffered with
“ him

“ him in our common prison; I am now
 “ summoned to appear before my judge
 “ on high; and for the peace of my soul, I
 “ cannot but make this declaration, which
 “ may point out to him the means of free-
 “ ing himself from his present ignominious
 “ situation, in case the king, his brother,
 “ should die without children. Can an
 “ extorted oath compel me to observe
 “ secrecy on a thing so incredible, but
 “ which ought to be left on record to pos-
 “ terity.”

The third opinion is, that he was a son
 of the queen, by the cardinal de Mazarin,
 born about a year after the death of her
 husband Louis XIII *; that he was brought
 up secretly, and that, soon after the death
 of the cardinal, which happened on the 9th
 of March 1661, he was sent to Pignerol.

Father Griffet observes †, that “ this
 “ prisoner could not have been a son of the

* Louis XIII died the 14th of May 1643.

† See *Traité de preuves qui servent pour établir la vérité de l'histoire*, note to page 318.

“ queen,

“ queen, whose birth had been so carefully
“ concealed, that the world had no in-
“ formation of it : it was needless to mask
“ a face that was unknown ; therefore that
“ supposition, which is destitute of proba-
“ bility, does not merit discussion.” But
I cannot help differing from father Griffet.
Might he not strongly resemble Louis XIV,
and would not this be a sufficient reason to
have him masked ?

Monfieur de Voltaire fays,

“ The *man with the mask* is an enigma
“ of which every one would guess the
“ meaning. Some have said that it was
“ the duke of Beaufort ; but the duke of
“ Beaufort was killed by the Turks in the
“ defence of Candy in 1669, and the
“ prisoner with the mask was at Pignerol
“ in 1661. Besides, how could the duke
“ of Beaufort have been arrested in the
“ midst of his army, and brought to France,
“ without any one knowing it ? and why
“ confine him ? and why that mask ?

“ Others

“ Others have dreamed that he was the
“ count de Vermandois, natural son of
“ Louis XIV, who died publicly at the
“ army in 1683, of the small-pox, and
“ was buried at the little town of Aire,
“ and not Arras; in which father Griffet
“ was mistaken *, but in which to be sure
“ there is no great harm.

“ Others have imagined, that it was the
“ duke of Monmouth, who was beheaded
“ publicly in London in the year 1685.
“ But for this he must have risen again
“ from the dead, and he must have
“ changed the order of time, and placed
“ the year 1662 in the room of the year
“ 1685. King James, who never forgave
“ any one, and who on that account de-
“ served all that happened to him, must
“ have pardoned the duke of Monmouth,

* It is not father Griffet, but M. de Voltaire who is mistaken; and from the same cause that he was often mistaken, being too impatient, and possessing too much imagination, to be a faithful and exact historian.

“ and got another to die in his stead, who
“ perfectly resembled him. This Sofia
“ must first have been found, and then he
“ must have had the goodness to let his
“ head be cut off in public, to save the
“ duke of Monmouth. It was necessary
“ that all England should be mistaken; and
“ that king James should beg of Louis
“ XIV to be so obliging as to be his jailer;
“ that Louis XIV, after having shewn
“ this trifling piece of civility to king
“ James, should not have been wanting in
“ the same attention to his friend king
“ William, and to queen Ann, (with both
“ of whom he was engaged in war,) and
“ to please them, retained the dignity of
“ jailer with which James had honoured
“ him.

“ All these illusions being dissipated, it
“ then remains to know who this prisoner
“ was, and at what age he died. It is
“ clear, that if he was not permitted to
“ cross the court of the Bastile, or to speak
“ to

“ to his physician, except covered with a
“ mask, it must have been from the ap-
“ prehension that his features and counte-
“ nance might have discovered some resem-
“ blance. He could shew his tongue, but
“ not his face. He said himself to the
“ apothecary of the Bastile, a few days
“ before his death, *that he believed he was*
“ *about sixty*. Mr. Marsoban, who was
“ son-in-law to this apothecary, and sur-
“ geon to the marechal de Richelieu, and
“ afterwards to the regent duke of Orleans,
“ told me this frequently. Why give him
“ an Italian name?—They always called
“ him Marchiali. He who writes this
“ article, perhaps knows more than father
“ Griffet, but he will say nothing farther.”

After all that has been said of this extraordinary prisoner, I must still leave it to the reader to form his own conjectures. I have laid before him all that I believe is known of his history. That he was a person of very superior birth, and thought to

be of the highest importance, seems to me very evident: but no good argument can be found to support the opinion, that he was a character known to the world before his confinement.

N° VII.

RÉNE' AUGUSTE CONSTANTIN DE RENNEVILLE was a gentleman of Caen in Normandy, and the youngest of twelve brothers, seven of whom, he says, were killed in the king's service. He had been employed in negociations abroad, and was afterwards first secretary under M. de Chamillard. He ascribes his misfortunes to some indiscreet verses.—“ *La*
“ *rage de barbouiller du papier, a envoyé*
“ *plus de gens à la Bastille que toute autre*
“ *chose.*”—He was arrested on the 16th of May 1702, and discharged on the 16th of June 1713. He afterwards went to London, where he published *l'Inquisition Francoise*, a book “ *remplis de faux et de vrai.*”

N° VIII.

THIS is the same Franciscan friar that has been mentioned by several writers of those times.—I shall quote what has been said on the subject by the duke of Saint Simon.

“ Monsieur de Chalais, who was ready
 “ to do any thing for the princess des Ur-
 “ fins *, was sent by her on an expedition

* Ann Mary de la Tremouille, princess des Ursins. She was first married to the prince of Chalais, who being obliged to quit France on account of a duel, she went to Rome to wait for him, but they never met, as he died in Spain. She afterwards married the prince Bracciano at Rome, chief of the family des Ursins. During the life of her second husband, she came twice to France: after his death, she was made *camarera mayor* to the queen of Spain, first wife of Philip V. She was in intimate correspondence with Madame de Maintenon, and for some time governed the Spanish court; but was disgraced at the marriage of Philip with his second wife, a princess of Parma, and ordered to quit the kingdom.

“ so

“ so mysterious, that it has never been ex-
“ plained. He travelled eighteen days
“ about the country, concealing his name;
“ and though he passed within two leagues
“ of Chalais, where his father and mother
“ were, he neither went to see them, nor
“ sent them any message. He wandered
“ about for some days in Poitou, and at
“ last arrested a Franciscan friar at the con-
“ vent of Bressuyre, who instantly called
“ out, *I am undone!* Chalais conducted
“ him to the prison at Poitiers, from
“ whence he dispatched to Madrid* an
“ officer of dragoons, who had accompa-
“ nied him, and who knew the friar. But
“ the world was never informed of the
“ name of this monk; it is only known
“ that he had been at several places in Ita-
“ ly, in Germany, and even at Vienna.
“ Chalais set off immediately for Paris.
“ He came to Monsieur de Torcy at Mar-

* Where the princefs des Ursins was.

“ ly, on Wednesday, the 27th of April
“ 1712.—The king had taken physic.—
“ M. de Torcy carried him after dinner to
“ the king’s closet, where he staid about
“ half an hour, during which time the
“ council was put off. The most *bideous*
“ reports were afterwards spread abroad
“ respecting the duke of Orleans. Though
“ this friar was at so great a distance when
“ our princes died, it was said the duke
“ had got them poisoned through his
“ means, and that he intended to poison
“ others. The town rung with these sto-
“ ries, and they were carried into the pro-
“ vinces, and even into foreign countries,
“ *with unusual rapidity.*

“ Madame des Ursins was as well served
“ in Spain as the duke of Maine and Ma-
“ dame de Maintenon were in France*.—
“ The friar was conducted to the Bastile,
“ bound hand and foot, and committed to

* Meaning, I suppose, by having those reports cir-
culated.

“ the

“ the care of Monsieur d’Argenson * on-
 “ ly, who made a direct report to the
 “ king, to the great mortification of Pont-
 “ chartrain, who, though secretary of state,
 “ and having Paris and the court in his
 “ department, saw here his subaltern more
 “ confided in than himself.

“ The duke of Orleans, who could not
 “ stem the torrent, let it take its course;
 “ and, as he knew nothing of this friar,
 “ he shewed no uneasiness. D’Argenson,
 “ notwithstanding the present storm,
 “ thought that the importance of the duke
 “ must soon be considerable, and took this
 “ opportunity of paying his court to him.
 “ Like a sensible man he saw the folly of
 “ stories that could not be supported by
 “ proof, and indeed that had no founda-
 “ tion.

“ The friar remained about three months
 “ at the Bastile, without being permitted

* Then lieutenant of the police.

“ to speak to any one but d’Argenson ;
“ after this, Chalais himself conducted
“ him to Segovia, where he was shut up
“ in a tower at the top of the castle, from
“ whence he had one of the most beautiful
“ views in the world. He was in perfect
“ health ten years afterwards, when I went
“ to see that charming place. I was told
“ that he sometimes broke out into violent
“ fits of passion, and swore against the
“ house of Austria and the ministers of the
“ court of Vienna for leaving him to rot
“ there. He read only romances, and
“ lived as licentiously as a profligate could
“ do that was confined within four walls.

“ It has been pretended, that he had
“ made his bargain for poisoning the king
“ of Spain and his children *. His vio-
“ lence against the court of Vienna seems

* But a vague report, of so atrocious a kind, merits just as little credit as the stories that had been propagated about the duke of Orleans.—Both are incredible, and both destitute of any proof.

“ to have favoured this opinion, which
“ has prevailed with people of the best un-
“ derstanding both on this and the other
“ side of the Pyrennees. But, as the
“ whole story is a mystery, I will not pre-
“ tend to give any opinion upon it. The
“ friar died in prison.”

N° IX.

MADEMOISELLE DE LAUNAY, afterwards Madame de Staal, and many other persons of the household of the duke and duchess of Maine, were arrested and sent to the Bastile on the 29th of December 1718,

The regent had some time before been informed of a secret correspondence of the duke and duchess of Maine with the court of Madrid, through the means of the Spanish ambassador, the prince of Cellamare. He got intelligence, that some dispatches of great importance had been sent away by the abbé de Porto Carero, and concealed in a double bottom that had been made to his chaise for that purpose. It is said, that he first received this information from a woman that kept a house of pleasure, who, like

like many others of the same profession, was personally known to the regent, and was now employed by him as a spy. The ambassador's secretary one day excused himself for not keeping an appointment at her house, by saying, that he had been engaged with dispatches that were but just sent off by the abbé Porto Carero. Notice of this was immediately given to the regent: on inquiry the circumstance was confirmed; orders were sent to arrest and examine the abbé; he was stopped at Poitiers; the dispatches were taken from him, and he was permitted to proceed on his journey. After reading them, the regent ordered the ambassador's house to be surrounded with guards, and searched. Many other important papers were found; for, though a courier sent by the abbé, apprising the ambassador of what had happened at Poitiers, arrived before the messenger that came to the regent, he neglected to destroy them.

This

This intrigue had been chiefly managed by the duchess of Maine. It appears, that her views principally went to dissuade the court of Spain from acceding to the quadruple alliance, to engage it to use its influence to obtain an assembly of the States in France, and to get the assembly to enforce the will of Louis XIV, and the dispositions that had been made by him in favour of his legitimated natural children.

The duke of Maine was arrested at his house at Seaux, and sent to the castle at Dourlens; and the Duchess at the Hotel de Thoulouse in Paris, and sent to Dijon.

The reader may perhaps forgive my recalling to his recollection some passages from Madame de Staal's memoirs, as they will give an idea of the manner in which prisoners were at that time treated.—Then, as in later years, the rigour of their confinement was proportioned to the degree of heinousness in which their offences were
confi-

considered; and their table and conveniences, to their rank.

“ They put me into a coach about seven
“ in the evening, with three musketeers.
“ I imagined the journey would not be
“ long, and that they were carrying me
“ to the Bastile. We accordingly arrived
“ there. They made me get out at a
“ small bridge, where the governor re-
“ ceived me. As soon as I entered, they
“ pushed me behind a door, as some of
“ our party arrived at the same time, by
“ whom they did not chuse I should be
“ seen.—Those being put into their cages,
“ the governor conducted me to mine.

“ My room had only the bare walls
“ bedaubed with charcoal, the pastime of
“ my predecessors.—They brought a straw
“ bottomed chair; two stones to support
“ a faggot with which they made a fire;
“ they very ingeniously stuck a tallow-
“ candle against the wall; these conve-
“ niences being procured, the governor
“ left

“ left me, and I heard five or six monstrous bolts locked behind him.

* * * * *

“ At last, the governor made his appearance again, bringing Mademoiselle Rondel * with him. She asked him in a very deliberate manner, if we were to lie upon the floor. He answered with a sort of merriment, which we thought rather out of season, and left us.

* * * * *

“ While we were thus in conversation, our doors opened with great noise. Indeed this cannot be done otherwise. They † desired us to go into another room, but without saying why. They don't give reasons there, and every one you see, has something in his face that tells you not to ask any questions.

* Her maid, and companion in her prison.

† The Turnkeys, who had come in.

“ They

* * * * *

“ The night was far advanced, and we
 “ neither saw beds nor supper; but short-
 “ ly afterwards, they came and took us
 “ back to our former room. I now found
 “ here a small bed, neat enough; an arm
 “ chair, two other chairs, a table, a basin,
 “ an earthen pot with water, and a kind
 “ of truckle bed for Rondel. She did not
 “ like her bed, and complained; but she
 “ was answered, *that they were his majesty’s*
 “ *beds, and that she ought to be content.*
 “ No reply could be made to this:—they
 “ went away, and shut us up, as before.

“ To procure the most simple necessary
 “ that we are apprehensive of being de-
 “ prived of, affords more joy, than the
 “ greatest piece of luxury to those who
 “ are in want of nothing.—I was exceed-
 “ ingly pleased to see my bed; I began
 “ to wish for my supper, and recollected
 “ the musketeer, who had advised me to

B b

“ eat

“ eat some dinner.—It was now eleven—
“ The supper at last came, but very late :
“ the great business of the day had occasioned some derangement, and I was
“ not a little surprised to see served the
“ day following at six o'clock, what to-
“ night I had so long waited for. I sup-
“ ped, I lay down, and fatigue and op-
“ pression would probably have made me
“ sleep, had I not been prevented by a
“ bell that the sentinel struck every quarter
“ of an hour, to shew that he was awake.

“ Monsieur de Launay, the governor
“ of our castle, had taken possession of his
“ office but the day we arrived there. His
“ predecessor, Monsieur de Bernaville,
“ died the day before. De Launay was
“ his relation and pupil, and he had per-
“ fectly fashioned him to all the practices
“ of the jail. He came to see me the next
“ morning ; and as he affected an air of
“ pleasantry, I did the same. He already
“ found me perfectly tamed. I asked
“ him

“ him for some books and cards. He sent
 “ me some odd volumes of Cleopatra,
 “ which I made the most of, and played
 “ at piquet with Rondel.

“ We shall have a fine opportunity,
 “ says Rondel, on Sunday at the chapel,
 “ to see the other prisoners of the castle.—
 “ But she was mistaken.—I was concealed
 “ in a niche where I neither could see nor
 “ be seen.

* * * * *

“ Being entirely occupied with other
 “ thoughts, I had paid so little attention
 “ to what I brought with me, that I was
 “ soon in want of every thing. I had no
 “ other cornet, but the one on my head;
 “ nor any more shifts than a heroine of
 “ romance, who has been suddenly run
 “ away with. My only resource was in
 “ the industry of Rondel, who washed
 “ my linen in the basin in which we
 “ washed our hands. While she was

“ washing the cornet, I put on my head
“ the only handkerchief I had left, and it
“ was in this extreme dishabille I received
“ the first visit of the *Lieutenant du Roi*.
“ No situation can prevent a woman’s
“ being displeased, at appearing to disad-
“ vantage before one she sees for the first
“ time.

“ M. de Maison-rouge, who had lately
“ got this place, had been a major of
“ cavalry, and never had seen any thing
“ but his regiment. He was an honest
“ open soldier, full of excellent qualities,
“ which were by no means disgraced by
“ a certain rusticity and bluntness, that
“ seemed naturally allied with them.”

* * * * *

He endeavoured to comfort her, but,
she proceeds, “ this sort of conversation
“ appeared to me extremely suspicious :—
“ I thought he wanted to ensnare me ;—I
“ did not know him then.

“ When

* * * * *

“ When my wants were at the utmost,
“ the governor came into my room one
“ day with a purse of gold, and followed
“ by a man carrying a large bundle of my
“ cloaths. I should not have known from
“ whence they came, if I had not recollected
“ the purse which I had worked and
“ given to Monsieur de Valincourt. He
“ was not afraid to avow his solicitude for
“ me, at a time when my *other friends*
“ would not acknowledge my acquaintance.

* * * * *

“ I should now have found some repose,
“ had it not been for an idea that unfortunately
“ got possession of my mind, and almost
“ constantly disturbed it. Some days
“ before I was arrested, happening to speak
“ of the Bastile to the abbé Chaulieu, he
“ told me a story of a woman of rank, who,
“ to make her declare her secrets, had been

“ privately put to the torture.—As I was
“ thought to be in the confidence of the
“ duchess of Maine, I imagined, that if
“ they had recourse to that expedient with
“ any one, it would be with me. I had a
“ wonderful desire to examine this matter,
“ but I knew not how to go about it.
“ One day that our *lieutenant du roi* came
“ to see me, I ventured to bring the dis-
“ course upon things I had been told about
“ the Bastile; but he treated them as child-
“ ish stories. At last, lowering my voice, as
“ people generally do when they are em-
“ barrased and afraid, I said, it was even
“ pretended that persons had been put to
“ the torture without any form of trial.
“ He made no reply. We were walking
“ up and down the room; he took an-
“ other turn, and went away, I thought, a
“ little too abruptly. I remained confound-
“ ed; and almost persuaded that I was
“ destined to undergo this horrid ceremo-
“ ny. I imagined he knew it—I continu-
“ ed

“ ed walking with immensely long steps,
“ and making profound reflections.—I
“ found out afterwards that the *lieutenant*
“ was deaf of one ear, and that I had got
“ on his deaf side when I addressed my last
“ observation to him. I have often laugh-
“ ed since at the fright his supposed cir-
“ cumspection then occasioned me.

* * * * *

“ Here many desires are precluded, by
“ our being removed from the objects that
“ create them; or stifled in their birth, by
“ the impossibility of their being gratified:
“ but when we are abroad, and dependant
“ on others, things are presented and denied
“ to our wishes in the same instant. Here,
“ likewise, we are free from the submis-
“ sions, the duties, the ceremonies of so-
“ ciety; and taking all together, I almost
“ think that one is as free at the Bastile, as
“ any where else.

B b 4

“ There

“ There are situations that people con-
“ template at a distance, as they did former-
“ ly the regions of the torrid zone; they
“ thought only of the excessive heat, with-
“ out considering that it was tempered by
“ winds and rains. When I grew calm, I
“ found out a variety of occupations and
“ amusements.—It is not the price of things
“ that renders them really valuable, but our
“ need of them. I have been surprized
“ since, at the resource I found against list-
“ lessness, with a cat. She was big with
“ young; she had kittens, and those pro-
“ duced others, for I staid long enough to
“ see different generations.”

The governor asked her, if she wished to confess; she desired it exceedingly, but wanted a confessor of her own chusing. He told her that was impossible, and she must be satisfied with the confessor belonging to the castle. To a mind already tainted with distrust, this was enough to rouse it. She

imagined the confession might be made use of to obtain her secrets. She was for some time perplexed between her duty and her fears; her devotion, however, prevailed, and she says, “ Never was any suspicion
“ more unjust; I found him (the confessor)
“ full of goodness, simple, and compassion-
“ ate; more disposed to pity me for my
“ misfortunes, than reprove me for my
“ faults.”

The following passage shews the extreme precaution that was observed at the Bastile, to prevent the prisoners from having any communication with persons abroad.

“ Throwing myself on my knees before
“ the governor, I entreated him to write with
“ his own hand a note that I should dictate,
“ to Madame de Grieu, merely to relieve
“ her from the terrible state of anxiety in
“ which I knew she must be on my ac-
“ count; but he was inexorable, fearing
“ that the plainest expressions, though writ-
“ ten

“ ten by himself, might convey a hidden
“ meaning.”

The *lieutenant du roi*, the honest Maison-rouge, became the captive of his prisoner. “ Though he did not explain himself clearly, all his actions proved it.—An attention to all my wants, that never diminished; a complacency, without affectation; a greater desire to see me satisfied, than to please me; and a mind so much devoted to me, that he seemed to forget his own existence.—I have never been a witness in real life, or read in romance, of sentiments so pure: sentiments that were invariable; and so much the more valuable, as they were not the effect of reasoning and refinement, but of simple nature; who seems to have taken pleasure in making a heart, of which she could say, Here at least is one, in which there is nothing to be found fault with.”

Near her apartment was that of the Chevalier de Menil. They never had seen each other;

other; but the similitude of their situations, and their common danger, made her take an interest in what concerned him. Maisson-rouge, who was constantly thinking of ways to amuse her, proposed to Menil to write her some verses. The verses were answered; they were followed by letters; the letters by visits; and those produced a mutual passion, that had been already prepared by sympathy. It was declared by the one, and soon avowed by the other. She says, " Le pays que nous habitons
" abrège beaucoup de formalités. Par-tout
" ailleurs j'eusse été long temps sans vou-
" loir écouter; plus long temps encore à
" répondre; mais dans un lieu, où, par-
" venus à se voir on ne sçait pas si l'on se
" reverra jamais, on dit en un heure ce
" que, hors de là, on n'eut pas dit, peut-
" être, dans un année: et non seulement on
" y parle, mais on y pense tout autrement
" qu'on ne feroit ailleurs."

One

One day that the *lieutenant du roi* was abroad, the governor met the Chevalier de Menil returning from the apartment of Mademoiselle de Launay to his own. The offence was punished, by his being removed to another tower, and confined with greater rigour.—In her distress, she resolved to avow to Maison-rouge her passion for Menil; to entreat his good offices for him, and get him to facilitate their correspondence. She says, “ He remained for some time as
“ if lost in a confusion of sentiments; but
“ the effects of my affliction, and of the
“ confidence I had placed in him, began to
“ shew themselves on his countenance. At
“ last, making an effort to explain himself,
“ he said: You know how much I am devoted to you, I will now give you a
“ proof of it, but you must explain the
“ nature of your connection with Monsieur de Menil. If his intentions are
“ pure, if he means to make you honour-
“ ably

“ ably happy, I will give myself up with-
“ out reserve to every thing that can con-
“ tribute to your welfare: but unless his
“ conduct be unquestionable, it would be
“ unworthy of you to have any farther
“ communication with him, and it would
“ be disgraceful to me to have been em-
“ ployed in it.” Having satisfied him,
that nothing had ever passed between them
with which virtue or modesty could be of-
fended, and that they were pledged to each
other in marriage, they, through his means,
daily wrote to each other; but, says she,
“ he has avowed to me since that, every let-
“ ter we delivered to him was a poignard
“ plunged in his bosom; yet he was not
“ the less exact in faithfully observing the
“ rules he had established for our corre-
“ spondence.”

By an order from the regent, the cheva-
lier de Menil was allowed a greater degree
of liberty; he now dined frequently with
the governor, and spent much of his time
with

with the duke of Richlieu, who was then likewise in the Bastile.

The duke and duchess of Maine having been permitted to return to Seaux, the prisoners in general, who had been arrested on their account, were treated with less severity than before. They were allowed to visit each other, and they generally met in the evenings at the apartments of a Madame de Pompadour. Madame de Staal, at this period of her imprisonment, says, " My connection with Menil, however
" painful to Maison-rouge, had been softened by the opportunity he had of being useful to me. He conducted our
" correspondence; and, as he knew all we
" did, it set limits to his anxiety : but, by
" this change, even that sort of consolation
" was taken away, and there only remained gratitude for services we no longer
" stood in need of." He said, " You are
" now happy ; I wished it. Live in peace
" with one you love, but do not exact
" from

“ from me, that I should witness it.—As
“ long as my services were wanted, I sur-
“ mounted my feelings; I should do the
“ same if you again stood in need of them,
“ but they are no longer necessary.”—She
however insisted that he should continue to
visit her; he was unable to refuse, but it
only tended to confirm the passion that car-
ried him slowly to his grave.

The chevalier de Menil was set at liber-
ty, but exiled to his estate at Anjou. She
was detained some months longer. The
correspondence by letters was renewed:
but Menil, now at liberty and among his
acquaintances, was less passionate and ex-
act, than Menil in the Bastile.

“ Being at a window, I saw Maison-
“ rouge coming in a great hurry across the
“ court with a paper in his hand. He
“ entered my room in a state of perturba-
“ tion that alarmed me. While I was
“ looking at him with astonishment, he
“ gave me the paper—it was the *lettre de*
“ *cachet*

"cachet that set me at liberty:—You are now free, said he, and I lose you—I most ardently desired this moment—I would have given my life to procure your liberty—it is obtained, and I shall cease to see you!—"

She was discharged from the Bastile on the 6th of June 1720.—The cat, that had amused her in her solitude, became the favourite companion of Maison-rouge.—He says, in a letter to her, dated the 7th, *"I wished you away—you are gone, and I am wretched."*

She resumed her place about the person, and in the confidence, of the duchess of Maine. But the impatience of de Menil to see her, fell infinitely short of what she had expected.—The impressions he had received, while a prisoner like herself, were gone off; and after a few months spent in pretexts on one hand, and disappointment on the other, their connection ended.

The robust health of Maison-rouge had gradually declined. To restore it, he was sent

sent to drink the waters in his native province, where in a few months he ended his life, "*of which he had long been weary.*"

Rondell was taken into the service of the duchess of Maine.—Mademoiselle de Launay refused several proposals of marriage; and, among others, of Dacier, after the death of his celebrated wife. She at last married Monsieur de Staal, an officer of a good family, but small fortune, and a widower with two daughters. To bring about this marriage, the duke of Maine procured him the reversion of a company in the guards; for Mademoiselle de Launay, now, was neither young nor handsome. She died at Passy on the 15th of June 1750. We find her often spoken of; and persons I am acquainted with, who knew her, confirm what has been told of her wit, and the charms of her society, if in company with those she liked; but, if not, her humour was unequal, and rather satirical.

N° X.

THE *convulsionnaires*, and their followers, were impostors and fanatics, who pretended that miracles had been wrought at the tomb of M. Paris: they affected to have fits, and to see visions in them.

M. Paris, son of Nicholas Paris, a counsellor of the parliament, was born the 30th June 1690. Though the eldest son, he resigned his birth-right, retired from the world, and gave himself up to study and devotion. He died on the 1st of May 1727, and was buried on the 3d in the parish of Saint Medard at Paris. From his virtue and extreme devotion, some of his neighbours considered him as a saint. They went to visit his grave; stories of miracles were spread abroad; the concourse of people increased; government interfered; by
an

an order of the 27th of January 1732 the burying-ground was shut up*; and, as the *convulsionnaires* were chiefly Jansenists, the persecutions against these were renewed.

Though the date of the following letter precedes that, at which I began the account of the prisoners in the Bastile; yet, as it seems to be authentic, and is curious, it may perhaps deserve a place here. It was found at the Bastile by a Monsieur Maton de la Varenne, an advocate in the parliament of Paris. It appears to have been written by a prisoner named Duffault, on the 1st of December 1642, to the cardinal de Richlieu, then on his death-bed. But, as the cardinal died on the 4th, it is

* Some one wrote the next day on the wall,
 “ Du par le roi, defense à Dieu,
 “ De faire miracle en ce lieu.”

probable the letter was never delivered, nor even sent, to him. It is written in the orthography of those times; but, in copying it, I shall observe the mode of spelling now in use.

“ Monseigneur,

“ Il est un tems où l'homme cesse d'être
“ barbare et injuste; c'est celui où sa dis-
“ solution prochaine le force à descendre
“ dans les tenebres de sa conscience, et à
“ se lamenter sur le foudis, chagrins, peines,
“ malheurs, et infortunes, qu'il a causé à
“ ses semblables: permettez que je dise
“ semblables, car vous devez voir mainte-
“ nant, ce, dont vous n'avais jamais vou-
“ lu vous convaincre, ne vous persuader
“ à savoir, que le Souverain et l'excellent
“ Ouvrier céleste nous a tous créés sur le
“ même modele, et que l'intention de icettuy
“ a été que les hommes ne fussent de-
“ stingués les uns des autres que par leurs
“ vertus. Or donc, monseigneur, vous
“ savez

“ savez que voilà déjà onze années que
“ vous me faites pâtir et endurer mille
“ morts à la Bastille, où les plus desloyaux
“ et felons sùjets du roi seroient encore
“ dignes de pitié et compassion. A plus
“ grave raison moi, que vous y faites pou-
“ rir pour avoir désobéi à votre mande-
“ ment, qui avoit fait condamner mon
“ ame à la gêne éternelle, et *avoit fait*
“ *comparoir en l'éternité les mains souillées*
“ *de sang* *. Ah ! si vous pouviez enten-
“ dre

* The cardinal de Richlieu was certainly not very scrupulous. Choisy says,

“ Ma mere m'a dit, que le bon homme la Vrilliere,
“ secretaire d'état, lui avoit conté, qu'étant allé por-
“ ter au cardinal de Richelieu la nouvelle du combat
“ de Castelnaudari, et de la prise de Montmorenci, le
“ cardinal avoit fait un signe de la main comme vou-
“ lant faire couper le cou au prisonier, et que s'étant
“ apperçu que la Vrilliere auroit pû le remarquer, il
“ lui avoit dit, *Monsieur de Montmorenci est de mes*
“ *amis, je lui laverai bien la tête.* Son premier signe
“ avoit été fort naturel. Il avoit fait Puy Laurens,
“ duc, et lui avoit fait épouser sa niece, dans l'espé-
“ rance qu'il porteroit feu Monsieur Gaston à quitter

“ dre les sanglots, plaintes, et gémisse-
“ mens, que vous me faites produire, vous
“ me feriez bien vite envoyer en liberté de
“ ma personne. Je vous en supplie, mon-
“ seigneur, au nom de Dieu éternel, qui
“ vous jugera vous, ainsi que moi, ayez pi-
“ tié de mes souffrances et doleances ; et,
“ si vous voulez avoir d'icelui miséricorde
“ avant que d'aller à tres pas, donnez man-
“ dement qu'on m'ôte mes chaines, car
“ icettuy venu, vous ne seriez plus à loisir
“ de me rendre une justice que je ne dois
“ demander qu'à vous ; et vous me persé-
“ cuteriez même après votre décès, dont
“ Dieu nous garde, si vous vous laissez
“ gagner par la très-humble priere d'un
“ homme, qui a toujours été loyal sujet
“ du roi.

“ Je suis, &c.”

“ la princesse Marguerite de Lorraine ; mais voyant
“ qu'il ne pouvoit, ou ne vouloit pas, il l'envoya à
“ Vincennes, où il mourut fort brusquement, et il re-
“ maria sa niece au comte d'Harcourt.”

Monfieur

Monfieur de la Varenne informs us, that it appears that Duffault was sent to the Baftile the 20th November 1631, and, by an infcription on the wall of the room in which he had been confined, that he was difmiffed the 20th June 1692, having been detained there near 61 years.

On the walls of the Baftile many other infcriptions were found; for, though it was the cuftom to white-wafh the room as foon as a prifoner quitted it, yet as the infcriptions were fometimes cut in the plafter, or in the ftones of the window or chimney, when they were not thought of much importance, they were fuffered to remain.

N° XI.

Déclaration des Intentions du Roi.

ARTICLE PREMIER.

AUCUN nouvel impôt ne sera établi; aucun ancien ne sera prorogé au delà du terme fixé par les loix, sans le consentement des représentans de la nation.

II. Les impositions nouvelles qui seront établies, ou les anciennes qui seront prorogées; ne le seront que pour l'intervalle qui devra s'écouler jusqu'à l'époque de la tenue suivante des Etats-généraux.

III. Les emprunts pouvant devenir l'occasion nécessaire d'un accroissement d'impôts, aucun n'aura lieu sans le consentement des Etats-généraux, sous la condition toutefois, qu'en cas de guerre, ou d'autre danger national, le souverain aura
la

la faculté d'emprunter sans délai, jusqu'à la concurrence d'une somme de *cent millions*; car l'intention formelle du roi, *est de ne jamais mettre le salut de son empire dans la dépendance de personne.*

IV. Les Etats-généraux examineront avec soin la situation des finances, & ils demanderont tous les renseignemens propres à les éclairer parfaitement.

V. Le tableau des revenus & des dépenses sera rendu public chaque année, dans une forme proposée par les Etats-généraux, & approuvée par sa majesté.

VI. Les sommes attribuées à chaque département, seront déterminées d'une manière fixe & invariable, & le roi soumet, à cette règle générale, les fonds mêmes qui sont destinés à l'entretien de sa maison.

VII. *Le roi veut* que pour assurer cette fixité des diverses dépenses de l'Etat, il lui soit indiqué par les Etats-généraux les dispositions propres à remplir ce but, & sa majesté

majesté les adoptera, si elles s'accordent avec la dignité royale & la célérité indispensable du service public.

VIII. Les représentans d'une nation fidèle aux loix de l'honneur & de la probité, ne donneront aucune atteinte à la foi publique, & le roi attend d'eux que la confiance des créanciers de l'Etat soit assurée & consolidée de la manière la plus authentique.

IX. Lorsque les dispositions formelles annoncées par le clergé & la noblesse, de renoncer à leurs privilèges pécuniaires, auront été réalisées par leurs délibérations, l'intention du roi est de les fonctionner, & qu'il n'existe plus dans le payement des contributions pécuniaires, aucune espèce de privilèges ou de distinctions.

X. *Le roi veut* que pour consacrer une disposition si importante, le nom de *Taille* soit aboli dans son royaume, & qu'on réunisse cet impôt, soit aux Vingtièmes, soit à toute autre imposition territoriale, ou
qu'il

qu'il soit enfin remplacé de quelque manière, mais toujours d'après des proportions justes, égales, & sans distinction d'état, de rang & de naissance.

XI. *Le roi veut* que le droit de franc-fief soit aboli du moment où les revenus & les dépenses fixes de l'Etat auront été mis dans une exacte balance.

XII. Toutes les propriétés, sans exception, seront constamment respectées, & sa majesté comprend expressément sous le nom de propriétés, les *dîmes, cens, rentes, droits & devoirs féodaux & seigneuriaux*, & généralement tous les droits & prérogatives utiles ou honorifiques, attachés aux terres & aux fiefs, ou appartenant aux personnes.

XIII. Les deux premiers ordres de l'Etat continueront à jouir de l'exemption des charges personnelles ; mais le roi approuvera que les Etats-généraux s'occupent des moyens de convertir ces sortes de charges en contributions pécuniaires, & qu'alors

qu'alors tous les ordres de l'Etat y soient assujettis également.

XIV. L'intention de sa majesté est de déterminer, d'après l'avis des Etats-généraux, quels seront les emplois & les charges qui conserveront à l'avenir le privilège de donner & de transmettre la noblesse. Sa majesté néanmoins, selon le droit inhérent à sa couronne, accordera des lettres de noblesse à ceux de ses sujets qui, par des services rendus au roi & à l'Etat, se seroient montrés dignes de cette récompense.

XV. Le Roi, desirant assurer la liberté personnelle de tous les citoyens d'une manière solide & durable, invite les Etats-généraux à chercher & à lui proposer les moyens les plus convenables de concilier l'abolition des ordres, connus sous le nom de *lettres de cachet*, avec le maintien de la sûreté publique & avec les précautions nécessaires, soit pour ménager, dans certains cas, l'honneur des familles, soit pour ré-

primer

primer avec célérité les commencemens de sédition, soit pour garantir l'Etat des effets d'une intelligence criminelle avec les puissances étrangères.

XVI. Les Etats-généraux examineront & feront connoître à sa majesté le moyen le plus convenable de concilier la liberté de la presse, avec le respect dû à la religion, aux mœurs & à l'honneur des citoyens.

XVII. Il sera établi dans les diverses provinces ou généralités du Royaume, des Etats-provinciaux composés de deux dixièmes de membres du clergé, dont une partie sera nécessairement choisie dans l'ordre épiscopal ; de trois dixièmes de membres de la noblesse, & de cinq dixièmes de membres du Tiers-état.

XVIII. Les membres de ces Etats-provinciaux, seront librement élus par les ordres respectifs, & une mesure quelconque de propriété sera nécessaire pour être électeur ou éligible.

XIX. Les

XIX. Les députés à ces Etats-provinciaux, délibéreront en commun sur toutes les affaires, suivant l'usage observé dans les assemblées provinciales que ces Etats remplaceront.

XX. Une commission intermédiaire, choisie par ces Etats, administrera les affaires de la province, pendant l'intervalle d'une tenue à l'autre, & ces commissions intermédiaires, devenant seules responsables de leur gestion, auront pour délégués des personnes choisies uniquement par elles, ou par les Etats-provinciaux.

XXI. Les Etats-généraux proposeront au roi leurs vues pour toutes les autres parties de l'organisation intérieure des Etats-provinciaux, & pour le choix des formes applicables à l'élection des membres de cette assemblée.

XXII. Indépendamment des objets d'administration dont les assemblées provinciales sont chargées, le roi confiera aux
Etats-

Etats-provinciaux l'administration des hôpitaux, des prisons, des dépôts de mendicité, des enfans-trouvés, l'inspection des dépenses des villes, la surveillance sur l'entretien des forêts, sur la garde & la vente des bois, & sur d'autres objets qui pourroient être administrés plus utilement par les provinces.

XXIII. Les contestations survenues dans les provinces où il existe d'anciens Etats, & les réclamations élevées contre la constitution de ces assemblées, devront fixer l'attention des Etats-généraux, & ils feront connoître à sa majesté les dispositions de justice & de sagesse qu'il est convenable d'adopter, pour établir un ordre fixe dans l'administration de ces mêmes provinces.

XXIV. Le roi invite les Etats-généraux à s'occuper de la recherche des moyens propres à tirer le parti le plus avantageux des domaines qui sont dans ses mains, & de lui proposer également leurs vues sur ce qu'il

qu'il peut y avoir de plus convenable à faire relativement aux domaines engagés.

XXV. Les Etats-généraux s'occuperont du projet conçu depuis long-temps par sa majesté, de porter les douanes aux frontières du royaume, afin que la plus parfaite liberté règne dans la circulation intérieure des marchandises nationales ou étrangères.

XXVI. Sa majesté desire que les fâcheux effets de l'impôt sur le sel & l'importance de ce revenu, soient discutés soigneusement, & que, dans toutes les suppositions, on propose, au moins, des moyens d'en adoucir la perception.

XXVII. Sa majesté veut aussi qu'on examine attentivement les avantages & les inconvéniens des droits d'aides & des autres impôts, mais sans perdre de vue la nécessité absolue d'assurer une exacte balance entre les revenus & les dépenses de l'Etat.

XXVIII. Selon

XXVIII. Selon le vœu que le roi a manifesté par sa déclaration du 23 Septembre dernier, sa majesté examinera avec une sérieuse attention, les projets qui lui seront présentés relativement à l'administration de la justice & aux moyens de perfectionner les loix civiles & criminelles.

XXIX. Le roi veut que les loix, qu'il aura fait promulguer pendant la tenue & d'après l'avis, ou selon le vœu, des Etats-généraux, n'éprouvent pour leur enregistrement & pour leur exécution aucun retardement, ni aucun obstacle, dans toute l'étendue de son royaume.

XXX. Sa majesté veut que l'usage de la corvée, pour la confection & l'entretien des chemins, soit entièrement & pour toujours aboli dans son royaume.

XXXI. Le roi desire que l'abolition du droit de main-morte, dont sa majesté a donné l'exemple dans ses domaines, soit étendue à toute la France, & qu'il lui soit proposé les moyens de pourvoir à l'indem-

nité, qui pourroit être dûe aux seigneurs en possession de ce droit.

XXXII. Sa majesté fera connoître incessamment aux Etats-généraux les réglemens dont elle s'occupe pour restreindre les capitaineries, & donner encore dans cette partie, qui tient de plus près à ses jouissances personnelles, un nouveau témoignage de son amour pour ses peuples.

XXXIII. Le roi invite les Etats-généraux à considérer le tirage de la milice sous tous ses rapports, & à s'occuper des moyens de concilier ce qui est dû à la défense de l'état, avec les adoucissmens que sa majesté desire pouvoir procurer à ses sujets.

XXXIV. *Le roi veut* que toutes les dispositions d'ordre public & de bienfaisance envers ses peuples, que sa majesté aura sanctionnées par son autorité, pendant la présente tenue des Etats-généraux, celles entr'autres relatives à la liberté personnelle, à l'égalité des contributions, à l'établissement des Etats-provinciaux, ne puissent

jamais être changées sans le consentement de trois ordres, pris séparément. Sa majesté les place à l'avance au rang des propriétés nationales, qu'elle veut mettre, comme toutes les autres propriétés, sous la garde la plus assurée.

XXXV. Sa majesté, après avoir appelé les Etats-généraux à s'occuper, de concert avec elle, des grands objets d'utilité publique & de tout ce qui peut contribuer au bonheur de son peuple, *déclare, de la maniere le plus expresse, qu'elle veut conserver en son entier, & sans la moindre atteinte, l'institution de l'armée, ainsi que toute autorité, police, & pouvoir, sur le militaire, tels que les monarques François en ont constamment joui.*

N° XII.

I Shall now proceed to give an account of the attack upon, and surrender of, the Bastile, on the 14th of July 1789, an event that strongly marked, and contributed to hasten, the revolution which has since taken place. I am much indebted for my information on this subject to a work called *la Bastile dévoilée* *. The author seems to have taken great pains to inform himself, by examining a variety of persons, who were on the spot during the transaction. He has had the candour to submit his materials to the inspection of

* This work was announced and recommended in the *Journal de Paris* of the 28th of September 1789, published by Monsieur Suard; and in the *Mercur de France* of the month of January 1790, in remarks written by Monsieur de la Harpe, who are both members of the French academy.

the public ; and, as he is a warm advocate for the principles on which the people had recourse to arms, he cannot be suspected of any partiality to the servants of government. I thought it necessary to premise this remark, because, though his language in speaking of M. de Launay, the governor, exceeds the bounds of moderation, his narrative rescues his memory from the treachery of which he was accused*, and with candour explains the circumstances that probably gave rise to that opinion.

When the place was attacked, there were fifteen pieces of cannon on the towers, eleven of which were eight-pounders and four four-pounders, mounted on truck-carriages, and formerly used on occasions of rejoicing. As the parapets were

* It was at the time said, and generally believed, that M. de Launay, the governor, admitted a number of the assailants, under pretence of treating with them, and, while they thought themselves in security, caused them to be fired on and killed.

thin and low, the soldiers employed at these guns must have been entirely exposed, nor had any measures been taken to cover them.

A few days before the insurrection, three field-pieces were brought from the arsenal, and planted before the draw-bridge (Q). The governor likewise got from thence twelve wall-pieces, called *amusettes du comte de Saxe*, carrying balls of one pound and a half each; a number of large muskets, carrying balls of two-thirds of a pound, with a quantity of small arms, cartridges, cannon-balls, and 250 barrels of gunpowder, which were brought thither as to a place of security rather than for use.

Upon the ramparts above the draw-bridge (Q), a great number of stones, granades, and loose cannon-balls, were laid, to be ready to throw down upon any who should attempt to force the passage.

A prisoner, named Tavernier, was removed from No. 1 of the tower *baxiniere*, where

where he had been long confined, to No. 3 of the *comté*; and, in No. 1 of the *baziniere*, a number of wall-pieces were lodged, to be ready likewise to fire upon those who should approach the bridge.

The garrison consisted of the governor and other established officers and servants of the Bastile; 82 invalid soldiers with their officers; and a lieutenant and 32 soldiers of the Swiss regiment of Salis Samade.

About two in the morning of the 13th of July, Monsieur de Launay ordered the soldiers to retire from their barracks (2) into the castle, leaving sentinels at the gate (1) that leads into the street St. Anthony.

The garrison remained within the castle undisturbed during the day of the 13th; but the sentinels on the towers were fired on in the night, though without effect. The sentinels did not return the fire, but gave the alarm.

On the 14th, early in the morning, the sentinels at the gate St. Anthony were taken prisoners by the people, and carried to the committee at the town-house. About ten in the morning, three deputies came from the committee as far as the iron railing at the first draw-bridge (6), and desired to speak with the governor. He went to them; but seeing an immense crowd of people, he said that only the three deputies could be admitted, and offered to send out as many hostages until their return; which was agreed to. While they were with the governor, Monsieur de la Roziere, advocate of the parliament and first elector of the district of St. Louis, arrived, and, at his request, was admitted likewise. He said, he came to represent to the governor, that the cannon, pointed from the towers on different streets of the town, had alarmed the inhabitants, and to solicit their being withdrawn. The governor urged

urged the impossibility of his complying without orders from his superiors: he said, they were in the places where they had been for many years past; but that, to quiet those alarms, he would order them to be drawn back within the parapet. Monsieur de la Roziere asked permission to go into the castle to see this done: the governor at first made some difficulty, but at the request of the major, de Lofme, he consented. As soon as de la Roziere was within the castle, addressing himself to the governor, he conjured him and the garrison not to fire on the people, but to give up the place. He was answered, that most certainly the people would not be fired on, unless they attacked the castle. He then returned with the governor to his house (V); and, after staying a short time, went away. About half an hour afterwards, the people appeared in great numbers in the street St. Anthony and in the passage-court, armed with muskets, sabres, and hatchets, saying,

saying, *they must have the Bastile, and down with the troops!* The officers from the walls begged them to keep back, and represented the danger to which they exposed themselves. They, however, persisted in advancing, and as there were no troops to defend the first draw-bridge, they found means to get it down. The garrison again called out to them to retire, or they must fire upon them; but they advanced towards the bridge of the castle (Q), and fired their muskets at the troops on the walls. They returned the fire, and the people retired beyond the first draw-bridge (6), from whence they kept up a constant fire on the ramparts. Soon after, a flag was seen advancing from the arsenal, followed by an immense number of persons in arms. Some halted with the flag in the court of Elms (Z), while others advanced to the court (U), calling out to the garrison not to fire; saying, that deputies were come from the town-house.

Monsieur de Launay said, that the deputies with the flag might advance, but desired the people in arms not to proceed beyond the first draw-bridge. The soldiers on the walls called out, that they would not fire; and as a proof of it, clubbed their muskets. After many signs, and much entreaty, the people stopped, and the deputies advanced into the passage-court, from whence they might have seen the soldiers on the towers with their clubbed firelocks, and a white flag as a sign of peace. The deputies stayed in the passage-court about ten minutes without advancing, notwithstanding the soldiers that were on the towers called out, *come and speak to the governor, we will be answerable for your safety with our lives:* but they returned to the elm-court, where they stayed about a quarter of an hour, and went away. The governor observed to the garrison, that those could not be deputies sent from the town-house, but persons who wished to surprise them,

for

for if they had really been deputies, they would not have hesitated to advance after the assurances that were given them. The numbers continued to increase, and in a short time the elm-court (Z), the passage-court, and the court (U), were entirely full. They again pressed forward towards the draw-bridge of the castle, and the garrison called to them as before, not to advance, or they would be fired upon. They, however, proceeded, and the governor, at last, ordered the troops to fire, which they did, when several fell, and the rest fled: but they did not go far, and continued firing on the battlements. Some broke open the barracks (2), and plundered them. About an hour afterwards, they brought a great quantity of straw, and set fire to the guard-room (7), to the governor's house (V), and to the kitchens (T). A cannon was then fired at them with grape shot; the only one that was discharged during the attack. The garrison
only

only defended the place with muskets. The French guards appeared, bringing with them a mortar, two 4 pounders, and a cannon inlaid with silver*. Monsieur de Launay had neglected to lay in any provisions; and as the people persisted to invest the place, about four in the afternoon all the non-commissioned officers went and solicited the governor to surrender it. Finding himself in this extremity, it is declared by several of the invalid soldiers of the garrison, that he attempted to fire a pistol into the powder that had been brought from the arsenal, and was deposited in the tower *de la liberté*; but was prevented by two serjeants, named Ferrand and Beguard, who are now at the hotel of the invalids †. Monsieur de Launay asked the garrison, what they wished

* It had been taken out of the king's *gard-meubles*, in the place Louis XV.

† See Bastille dévoilée, &c.

him to do: he said, his own opinion was, that they should defend themselves to the last, and even blow up the place, rather than fall into the hands of a furious multitude. The garrison insisted on surrendering. He then gave a white handkerchief to a serjeant, ordered him to shew it from the battlements, and sent a drummer at the same time to beat the chamade. They did so; but the people not attending to those signals, continued firing. Seeing that no one fired from the castle, they advanced to the draw-bridge, and desired it might be let down. The officer who commanded the Swiss detachment, spoke to them through a loop-hole at the side of the gate, and desired that the garrison might be allowed to go out with their arms; to which they cried, *No, no.*—He then said, that the troops would deliver up the place and their arms, if they would promise that no insult or violence should be offered to them. They answered, "*Let down the bridge,*

*bridge, nothing will happen to you *.*"—The governor, on this, took the key out of his pocket, and ordered a corporal named Gaiard, and another named Pireau, to let down the bridge. It was no sooner down than the people rushed into the court, and fell upon the invalids who had laid down their arms, and were ranged along the wall on the right. The Swiss were opposite to them, and escaped, not being immediately remarked; perhaps owing to their having canvas frocks over their uniforms. The people then went into the apartments of the officers, broke the furniture, doors, and windows: and so great was the tumult and confusion, that many continued to fire, and, without intending it, killed and wounded their companions. The doors of the prisons were opened. Their inhabitants, who, till that instant, had been ignorant of what had passed, and

* See Bastille dévoilée, &c.

him to do: he said, his own opinion was, that they should defend themselves to the last, and even blow up the place, rather than fall into the hands of a furious multitude. The garrison insisted on surrendering. He then gave a white handkerchief to a serjeant, ordered him to shew it from the battlements, and sent a drummer at the same time to beat the chamade. They did so; but the people not attending to those signals, continued firing. Seeing that no one fired from the castle, they advanced to the draw-bridge, and desired it might be let down. The officer who commanded the Swiss detachment, spoke to them through a loop-hole at the side of the gate, and desired that the garrison might be allowed to go out with their arms; to which they cried, *No, no.*—He then said, that the troops would deliver up the place and their arms, if they would promise that no insult or violence should be offered to them. They answered, "*Let down the bridge,*

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* See Bastille dévoilée, &c.

still thought of the world in the state they had left it, were brought out, caressed, and carried in triumph through the streets. The fate of the garrison was different. The officers and the invalid soldiers were seized, and dragged towards the town-house. Some soldiers of the garrison who have written a narrative of what happened say, "After humiliations of every kind, we
" saw, on arriving at the Greve, the bodies
" of two of our companions who had been
" hanged. Some called out that we de-
" served the same fate, and in the instant
" we heard thousands demand that we
" should be delivered to them.—But the
" soldiers of the French guards stepped
" forward, surrounded us, and desired
" that we might be spared. The people
" consented, and the guards then escorted
" us to one of their barracks in *la nouvelle*
" *France*, gave us a supper and beds,
" and the next morning sent us to our
" hotel."

Mon-

Monfieur de Launay*, the governor, was killed, and then beheaded at the Greve †.

Monfieur

* I have already observed, that I am much indebted for my information to a work, entitled the *Bastille dévouée*; and that the author, though evidently no friend to M. de Launay, and though he seems not to disapprove of his being put to death, exculpates his memory of the treachery that was imputed to him. In the account of the attack of the place, the reader will recollect, that a flag of truce appeared and disappeared, without those who accompanied it having advanced to enter into parley: this circumstance, according to the above-mentioned author, from a misunderstanding, gave rise to the report, that Monfieur de Launay, contrary to the established rules of war, and to the yet more imperious laws of private honour, from which even his peculiar case could not absolve him, had fired upon the assailants, who had advanced to treat with him under the protection of the flag. I shall quote what the author says:

“ Nous ne pouvons disconvenir qu’il se trouve une contradiction manifeste entre la déposition des invalides & un rapport fait à la ville par M. de Corny, que quelques réflexions pourront cependant parvenir à concilier: “ en conséquence des délibérations prises par le “ comité permanent, &, en conséquence de ses ordres “ (dit M. de Corny lui-même dans son rapport), M. de “ Corny, assisté de M. de la Fleurie, du district des “ Filles St. Thomas, de M. de Milly, du même district,

† See this note, page 421.

E e

“ de

Monfieur de Lofme Salbray, major of the Baftile, was killed there, near the arch St. John.

Monfieur

“ de M. de Beaubourg, & de M. le comte de Piquot de
“ Sainte-Honorine, qui avoient demandé à l’accom-
“ pagner ; de M. Boucheron, du diftrict Saint-Louis ;
“ de M. Coutans, commiffaire de police de la ville ; de
“ M. Joannon qui portoit le drapeau ; de M. Six,
“ architecte, & d’un tambour du régiment des Gardes-
“ Françoiſes, ſe mit en marche pour la Baſtille. En-
“ viron une heure & demie après, M. de Corny revint à
“ l’hôtel-de-ville & rendit compte, que cette députation
“ parlementaire avoit été exécutée, en partie, avec
“ beaucoup d’ordre, mais non ſans danger & ſans acci-
“ dent ; qu’étant arrivés à l’arsenal par la rue de la
“ Cérifaye, & par la cour des poudres & ſalpêtres dans
“ la cour de l’Orme, ils s’étoient portés au milieu de
“ cette cour, bien en vue de la platte-forme de la Baſ-
“ tille ; que le drapeau de la ville avoit été ſigné ;
“ qu’enſuite celui qui le portoit s’étoit acheminé avec
“ le tambour vers le pont-levis ; que le peuple s’étoit
“ écrié qu’il falloit bien ſe garder d’entrer ; que pen-
“ dant ce tems M. de Corny avoit vu arborer ſur la
“ platte-forme de la Baſtille un pavillon blanc ; que les
“ ſoldats armés avoient renverſé leurs fuſils la croſſe en
“ haut ; & que les ſignes de paix & d’appel avoient été
“ multipliés par les chapeaux ;—que ſous les auſpices
“ de ce commencement de réception amicale, M. de
“ Corny & ſes collègues avoient engagé le peuple à ſe
“ retirer ; que cette retraite commençoit à s’exécuter,
“ lorsque,

Monfieur de Miray, *aid major*, was killed in the ftreet Tournelle.

Monfieur

“ lorsque, malgré la foi observée rigoureusement dans
“ tous les cas de députation parlementaire, au préju-
“ dice de celle des signaux de paix, M. de Corny & ses
“ collègues virent pointer une piece de canon (qui ne
“ fut pas tiré,) sur la cour de l'Orme, & ils reçurent
“ dans le même moment une décharge de mousque-
“ terie qui tua trois personnes à leurs pieds.” C'est
une question que nous ne nous permettons pas de ju-
ger, celle de savoir si la décharge de mousqueterie, que
M. de Corny dit avoir été faite sur la députation dont
il étoit membre, l'a été avec connoissance de cause.
Nous observerons cependant que les invalides, après
leur avoir fait lecture du rapport de M. de Corny, nous
ont assuré de nouveau qu'on ne fit feu sur les assaillans,
qui se présenterent une seconde fois pour attaquer le
second pont, que lorsque la députation fut partie.
Voici peut-être d'où vient cette double erreur; le dra-
peau & le tambour s'étant retirés de la cour du Passage
dans celle de l'Orme où étoit resté M. de Corny, il peut
se faire que les invalides aient cru que la députation
qui étoit venue avec eux jusques dans cette cour du Pas-
sage, s'étoit également retirée. Le sieur Benoit, maître
teinturier, rue de la Tournelle, n°. 48, place Maubert,
qui étoit alors à la Bastille, & qui s'est porté comme
les autres à l'attaque du second pont, nous a assuré que
la décharge de mousqueterie n'avoit effectivement été

Monfieur Perfon, lieutenant of the invalids, was killed in his way to the Greve.

Monfieur

faite qu'à cette époque; fans cependant avoir pu nous dire fi la députation étoit retirée ou non.

“ M. Boucheron, du diftrict de Saint Gervais, l'un des co-députés de M. de Corny, nous a dit que lui & une autre perfonne furent les feuls de cette députation qui s'avancèrent jufqu'au fecond pont-levis; que les autres membres étoient reftés fous la voûte de la cour de l'Orme. Le drapeau & le tambour n'étoient pas placés précifément auprès de ces députés; M. Boucheron nous a même affuré qu'il ne put favoir alors ce qu'ils étoient devenus. Il a ajouté qu'on avoit fait feu fur la députation (il appelle députation fon collègue & lui,) & que malgré fes instances le feu des affiégeans n'avoit prefque pas difcontinué. M. Boucheron a eu plufieurs perfonnes tuées ou bleffées autour de lui; ce qui prouve que ce démembrement de députation n'étoit ni ifolé, ni en évidence. Après avoir rendu au zele & au courage de M. Boucheron la juftice qu'ils méritent, nous ajouterons quelques propofitions qui ferviront de complément à nos obfervations précédentes fur la députation de M. de Corny. Si cette députation ne s'eft pas présentée en entier, mais feulement deux membres qui n'avoient point de figne caractéristique de leur miffion, fi le drapeau & le tambour les ont abandonné, fi le feu des citoyens contre les affiégés a toujours continué, ne pouvoit-on pas croire de l'intérieur, d'abord que la députation

Monfieur Caron, lieutenant in the fame company, after receiving four wounds in
the

putation étoit partie, fi le tambour & le drapeau s'étoient effectivement retirés; & même, dans le cas contraire, que la députation n'étoit pas une députation avouée par la ville, puifque les hoftilités continuoient toujours. Nous laiffons cette queftion à juger au lecteur; nous ne nous permettons pas de scruter les intentions."

† I fhall translate part of the depofition taken before the Chatelet on the 16th of January 1790, of a wretch who had been arrefted a few days before, on account of a riot, and was found to be the man who had beheaded Monfieur de Launay.

" The prifoner fays, that his name is Francis Felix Dénot, that he is about 33 years of age, a native of Paris, by profeflion a cook, but being out of fervice, has lived fome months paff in the ftreet Saint Denis, with his wife, who maintains herfelf by embroidering."

" Being interrogated with refpect to his conduct on the 12th of July laft, and the following days, he fays: that on the 12th of July, feeing the bufts of the duke of Orleans and M. Necker carried through the ftreets, he went to the Palais Royal; that fome perfons there propofed to him to go to the place Louis XV, to affift the people againft the dragoons who were purfuing them; that he there faw troops, among whom he was told was the prince of Lambesc, charge and difperfe the people fword in hand; that he himfelf was thrown down, and received feveral blows from ftones; that he heard a

the streets was carried to the Hotel Dieu, where he recovered.

In

musket fired, and being frightened, threw himself on his face; that when he got up, he found a dragoon's helmet, which he brought away with him; that on his way home, he called out to all he met, to be on their guard that night; that he did not go out again on the 12th, but that the next day, hearing the citizens had taken arms, he went with the helmet on, to the *Place de Greve*, about nine in the morning; that he from thence went along with many others to get arms at the barracks at Papincourt; that they there got a number of muskets, and that he endeavoured to prevent any from getting arms but such as were fit to be trusted with them; that they there dispersed, and went off to different quarters; that he and others came to the Hotel de Ville, where they were desired to return home, and acquainted that a plan would be formed in the different districts; that he did so, and from thence went to the place of rendezvous for the district Saint Opportune; that he and other citizens, on that day, and afterwards, marched in patrols through the streets, and that for eight days and nights, he was almost constantly on foot to preserve good order; that on the morning of Tuesday the 14th, he was employed in bringing arms from the Hotel of the Invalids; that afterwards hearing the people were gone to the Bastile, he went thither likewise; that he was there informed, that the people were conducting M. de Launay to the Hotel de Ville;

In the defence of the place only one soldier was killed and four wounded. One invalid

Ville; that he ran after them, and joined them at the arch Saint John; that the people who were assembled before the Hotel de Ville, called out, *Hang him, hang him*; that Monsieur de Launay, who had hitherto kept his eyes cast down, on hearing this, lifting them up, said, *Let them put me to death, I prefer that to those unmerited insults*; that in the same instant, a number of persons, unknown to the prisoner, gave M. de Launay many wounds with swords and bayonets; that the people seeing him, the prisoner, with the helmet on, called out, *Come, dragoon, cut off his head*; that though Monsieur de Launay was now dead, he felt a great repugnance to do so; that he began to do it with a sword they gave him, but as it did not cut well, he finished it with a knife that he had in his pocket; that the head being put on the end of a pike, still pressed by the people, he carried it through the streets, and being joined by the person who, in like manner, carried the head of the *Prévot des Marchands**, they went with them to the Palais Royal, and afterwards carried them to the Morgue†; that far from apprehending any blame for what he had done, he addressed himself to several deputies of the National Assembly, expecting to have been rewarded with a medal, for hav-

* See pages 170 and 171.

† A place in Paris where dead bodies were exposed by the police, in order to discover who they were.

invalid was killed and several wounded by the people after they were let in; and two were hanged by them at the Greve.

We

ing freed society of a monster *; that about an hour before he beheaded M. de Launay, he had drank a glass of brandy with gunpowder in it, which had turned his head; that when M. Berthier, the intendant of Paris, was brought to the Hotel de Ville, he was at the Place de Greve †; that he had no part in the murder of M. Berthier; that he was near him, heard him protest his innocence, and supplicate the people, if they thought him guilty of any crime, to carry him to prison, in order that he might be tried; that M. Berthier was stabbed to death by some foldiers; that a soldier of the regiment of Royal Cravatte, opened his belly with a fabre, and one he is unacquainted with, pulled out his heart, put it into his, the prisoner's, hand, and in a furious manner took him by the collar, saying, *Come, dragoon, bring it to the Hotel de Ville*; that he accordingly went with him, accompanied by many other persons, and having seen M. de la Fayette, came away; that in coming down the stairs, the soldier put the heart on the point of a sword, and obliged him, the prisoner, to carry it through the streets to the Palais Royal; that while he was at supper with the soldier in an eating-

* In the former part of his declaration he says M. de Launay was dead.

† The Hotel de Ville is on one of the sides of the Greve. See page 188, and the note to it.

house,

We have already mentioned, that seven prisoners were found, and set at liberty,

Tavernier, in the Tower Comté, room N^o 3.

Pujade, Baziniere, 3.

La Roche, ibidem, 4.

C^{te} de Solages, Bertaudiere, 4.

White, ibidem, 1.

La Caurege, Du puits, 1.

Bechade, Du Coin, 1.

Tavernier had been several times sent to the Bastile for different offences. He seemed, when the place was taken, to be disordered in his mind, and was afterwards sent to Charenton.

house, and the heart lying on the table, the people came and demanded the heart, which they threw out at the window; that he has not meddled in any thing since; that it is true he accompanied M. de la Fayette to Versailles on the 5th of October last, but he had no share in the assassination of the king's guards; that he only took a shoe of one of those that were killed, to shew it on his return to Paris."

The declaration made by this man was published in almost all the daily papers, under the article of *Chatelet de Paris*.

Pujade,

Pujade, La Roche, Caurege, and Bechade, were arrested at different places, and put into the Bastile, till they could be tried for a notorious forgery of bills of exchange to a great amount, that were accepted by Messrs Tourton, Ravel, and Gallet de Santere, bankers at Paris.

The count de Solages, by his own account, was arrested at Toulouse in Languedoc, his native country, in 1782, by an order from the minister, Monsieur Amelot, at the request of his father, for dissipation and other circumstances of misconduct. He did not seem to complain of his confinement as unmerited; but he complained of never having received any account of his family from the time he had been arrested. He was first sent to Vincennes, and removed from thence to the Bastile in February 1784. Having heard the firing, he inquired of the turnkey, who had just brought up his dinner, what it meant. He said, it was occasioned by a revolt of the
people

people on account of the scarcity of bread; but, while he was making an excuse for being later in bringing him his dinner than usual, the room was filled with armed men. It was some time before he thought himself in safety, or could find any one composed enough to tell him what had happened. He was carried to the district of the oratoire, and from thence was escorted to a furnished hotel. He was there told, for the first time, that there had been two assemblies of notables, and that the states were then sitting at Versailles; of the changes that had happened in the ministry; of the disorders that existed throughout the kingdom; and that the inhabitants of Paris had taken arms, to prevent the entrance of the king's troops, commanded by the *maréchal de Broglio*. A few days afterwards, he saw the sovereign come from Versailles to the town-house, to repeat his solemn promise, that his army should be sent away, &c. He afterwards received

an account of the death of his father, and that all his property had been seized on account of debts.

White was arrested, and sent to Vincennes, by an order from M. de Sartine, and was brought from thence to the Bastile at the same time with Solages, on the 28th February 1784. He was born of Irish parents at Rochelle, and was a major in the French infantry. It appeared, that he was deranged in his understanding, though quiet and inoffensive. He was for some days carried about Paris by the people, and shewn at the coffee-houses; but he is now at the hospital at Charenton.

The people, of their own impulse, had destroyed the governor's house and some of the other buildings; but the mayor and committee, at the town-house, resolved that the castle itself should be demolished. The city architects were appointed to conduct the work, and this immense edifice is now almost level with the ground. Ma-
ny

ny cannon-balls were found in the walls, supposed to have been fired during the war of the Fronde, at the battle in the suburbs St. Anthony, where the royal army was commanded by Turenne, and that of the Fronde by the great Condé*.

* Mademoiselle de Monpensier, daughter of Gaston duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII, went to the Bastile, and ordered the cannon to be fired on the royal army, and the gates of the town to be opened to receive the troops under Condé.

Statement of the Annual REVENUE and EXPENDITURE of France
Finances, and delivered by him to the Assembly of the States

REVENUE.

	Livres.	Pounds sterling
Revenue farmed, called <i>fermes générales</i> , being the duty on salt, on tobacco, entries at Paris, &c. - - - - -	150,107,000	or 6,254,400
Post duty - - - - -	12,000,000	500,000
Hackney-coaches, stage-coaches, and other public carriages - - - - -	1,100,000	45,800
Duties on cattle sold at the markets of Sceaux and Poissy - - - - -	630,000	26,200
Duties of affinage - - - - -	120,000	5,000
Duties at port Louis in Britany - - - - -	47,000	1,900
Duties compounded for in some of the maritime parts of Flanders - - - - -	823,000	34,200
<i>Aides</i> , or duties on wines and spirits, and a variety of other duties united under the direction of the same persons - - - - -	50,220,000	2,092,500
The royal domains and forests - - - - -	50,000,000	2,083,300
Lotteries - - - - -	14,000,000	583,300
Casual revenue, arising from the succession to offices, &c. &c. - - - - -	3,000,000	125,000
Duty on wrought gold, called the <i>marc d'or</i> - - - - -	1,500,000	62,500
Powder and saltpetre - - - - -	800,000	33,300
Taxes; including the poll-tax, land-tax, &c. in Paris, and in the provinces called the <i>Pays d'Élection</i> and <i>Pays Conquis</i> - - - - -	155,655,000	6,485,600
In Languedoc - - - - -	9,767,250	406,900
Britany - - - - -	6,611,460	275,400
Burgundy - - - - -	4,128,180	172,000
Revenue carried over	460,508,890	19,187,800

No XIII.

of France, made out by M. Necker, First Minister of the
of the States General on the 4th of May 1789.

EXPENDITURE.

		Livres.	Pounds sterling.
Expenditure of the household of the king, the queen, the king's sister Madame Elizabeth, and his two aunts	- - -	25,000,000	or 1,041,666
Of the king's brother, Monsieur	2,296,000		
Of Madame, wife to Monsieur	1,360,000		
	<hr/>	3,656,000	152,333
Of the count d'Artois	2,296,000		
Of the countess d'Artois	1,360,000		
Of the duke of An- } sons to the			
goulême } count	400,000		
Of the duke of Berry } d'Artois	300,000		
	<hr/>	4,584,000	191,000
Department of foreign affairs, includ- ing the expences at home and abroad, the Secretary of State, the public offices, Ambassadors, Ministers, se- cret service, &c. &c.	- - - 5,150,000		
Subsidies and succours			
To the duke of Parma	375,000		
To the duke of Deux Ponts	500,000		
To the prince of Nassau Saarbruck	100,000		
Succours and annual allowances to dif- ferent foreigners	- - - 375,000		
	<hr/>	6,500,000	
League with the Swiss,	830,000		
	<hr/>	7,330,000	306,416
Expenditure carried over	40,570,000		1,691,415

	Livres.	Pounds sterling
Revenue brought over	460,508,890	or 19,187,80
Provence	-	-
Pau, Bayonne, and Foix	-	-
Branches of the poll-tax and land-tax that are farmed	-	-
Profit of the mint	-	-
Profit at the royal forges	-	-
Duties received by the board of commerce	-	-
Interest on about 36,230,000 livres owing by the states of America	-	-
Interest on 6,000,000 lent to the duke of Deux Ponts	-	-
Rent on ground and houses belonging to the hospital of the <i>Quinze Vingts</i>	-	-
Poll-tax and tenths deducted from pensions, &c.	-	-
Particular duties at fortified towns	-	-
Total of revenue	475,294,000	19,803,90

	Livres.	Pounds sterling.
Expenditure brought over	40,570,000	or 1,691,415
Expence of the army, and every thing belonging to the war department	99,091,000	4,128,791
Marine department and colonies	40,500,000	1,687,500
Bridges and highways	5,680,000	236,666
Studs for breeding horses	814,000	33,916
Pensions	29,954,000	1,248,083
Allowances to different persons by way of indemnity, for rights and privileges relinquished	3,167,000	131,958
Salaries to counsellors of State, and magistrates	2,815,000	117,291
Wages and allowances to persons in different employments	351,000	14,625
Intendants in the provinces, and persons under them	1,413,000	58,875
Police of Paris	1,569,000	65,375
Guards, horse and foot, for the police of Paris	1,136,000	47,333
The guards called Maréchaussée of the <i>Isle de France</i>	251,000	10,458
Paving the streets of Paris	627,000	26,125
Work in the quarries under Paris	400,000	16,666
Remissions and deductions made on taxes, &c. comm. an.	7,123,000	296,791
Allowances to the receivers and farmers general, and other expences on the receipts	19,511,000	812,958
Board and clerks of the treasury, payers of the annuities, &c.	3,372,000	140,500
Board of the general administration of the finances	2,345,000	97,708
Board of commerce, the mint, mines, and the board for settling the affairs of the late East-India company	794,000	33,083
Funds reserved for acts of charity to distressed families	173,000	7,208
Succours to the Dutch refugees in France	829,000	34,541
Religious communities, convents, and repairs of sacred edifices	2,082,000	86,750
Gifts, alms, hospitals, including the hospital for foundlings	3,635,000	151,458
Persons employed out of charity in times of scarcity	1,911,000	79,625
Houses for vagabonds in different parts of the kingdom	1,144,000	47,666
Expenditure carried over	271,257,000	11,303,365
F f		

Revenue brought over Livres. Pounds sterling.
 475,294,000 or 19,803,909

N. B. In this statement, the écu of three livres is reckoned at two shillings and sixpence sterling; for though the exchange with France has for some months past been sometimes even under 26 pence for the écu, the medium rate of exchange is from 30 to 31 pence.

Deficiency, or the amount of what the expenditure exceeded the revenue

475,294,000 or 19,803,909

56,239,000 2,343,29

Difference for the fraction

531,533,000 22,147,20

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Livres.

Pounds sterling.

Expenditure brought over 271,257,000 or 11,303,365

Prizes, &c. for encouraging commerce and manufactures	- - -	3,862,000	160,916
Royal garden for plants, and cabinet of natural history	- - -	129,000	5,375
Royal library	- - -	159,000	6,625
Universities, academies, colleges, arts and sciences	- - -	1,004,000	41,833
Passports and exemptions from duties to foreign ministers, &c. estimated at	- - -	400,000	16,666
Keeping up and constructing public buildings	- - -	1,874,000	78,083
Expences of plantations, &c. in the forests, &c.	- - -	817,000	34,041
Expence of criminal prosecutions and maintenance of prisoners	- - -	3,180,000	132,500
Various expences, local and variable, made in the provinces, of succours in cases of inundations, encouragements to different useful establishments, &c. &c.	- - -	4,500,000	187,500
Extraordinary and unforeseen expences, estimated at	- - -	5,000,000	208,333
Perpetual annuities	- 56,796,924	* 161,466,390	2,366,538
Life annuities	- 101,469,586		4,227,899
Tontines	- 3,199,880		133,328
Interest of sums borrowed at different times	- - -	44,856,000	1,869,000
Money owing to the clergy	- - -	2,500,000	104,166
Wages and salaries of places and offices purchased, and which may be considered as interest on money borrowed	- - -	14,729,000	613,708
Interest and expence of anticipations on the revenue of 1790 and 1791	- - -	15,800,000	658,333

Total Livres 531,533,390 22,147,209

Paris, 1st May 1789.

Signed DU FRESNE,
and Examined, NÉCKER.

* 161,466,390, instead of 161,466,000, in the addition stated by M. Necker.

The above statement of the revenue and expenditure of France, before the late revolution, may, I think, be considered as the most authentic of any that has been laid before the public. The experience of the minister of finance, aided by the immediate assistance of men who had long been in office, enabled him to procure the exactest information; and the solemnity of the occasion on which the account was produced, precludes every idea of *intentional* deception.

After inspecting all the accounts of the revenue of France that have lately appeared, I think I am warranted in saying, that it scarcely exceeded the present revenue of Great Britain, and was certainly inferior to that of the three kingdoms taken together: for, it must be observed, that, in comparing the actual produce of the revenue of these two empires, we find in the public disbursements of France the amount of a variety of charges, defrayed by government,

vernment, that do not appear in the expenditure of this country—we must therefore add to our revenue the sums levied here for the same purposes. Among these we shall find the tolls, raised for making and repairing high roads; the poor-rates; the charges of hospitals; the police; and the lighting and paving of the capital; &c. &c. And although the revenue here is levied from perhaps not much more than half of the number of inhabitants that are in France, yet the people there were in a state of penury, compared to the comfortable situation of the lower classes of British subjects. To examine into the causes of this difference, might lead into a very copious discussion; but it would ultimately come to this; that our prosperity is to be ascribed, not to local circumstances, for in that respect France has perhaps the advantage, but to our happy and most excellent constitution.

T H E E N D.

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pious dissertation; but it would ultimately
come to this; that our prosperity is to be
ascribed, not to local circumstances, for in
that respect France has perhaps the advan-
tage, but to our happy and well regulated
constitution. I should be content to add
that the same may be said to apply to



E R R A T A,

- Page 43, line 5, *for granted, read permitted.*
- 54, — 5, *for dinner, read dinners.*
- 62, — 2 *from bottom, Note, for one, read no one,*
- 63, — 14, *for there, read thither.*
- 67, — 7, *for in, read by.*
- 72, — 5, *for or, read nor.*
- 82, — 11, *for have mentioned, read have been mentioned.*
- 93, — 4 *from bottom, Note, after friend put a colon.*
- 94, — 5 *from bottom, for aginst, read against.*
- 105, — 3 *from bottom, for then greatly, read thence-forward.*
- 129, — 3 *from bottom, Note, for commission read common.*
- 133, — 7, *after laws put a comma.*
- 143, — 12 *from bottom, for reuerverfer, read renverfer.*
- 155, — 6 *from bottom, for army, read soldiers.*
- 176, — 4, *for were, read are.*
- 188, — 11, *for victions, read victims.*
- 218, — 2 *from bottom, for and the, read and.*
- 288, — 8 *from bottom, Note, for in which, read of which.*

